

# INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY

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— Singh & Sahay

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## PREFACE

The publication of this volume on Indian Anthropology coincides with the 50th year of Indian independence. Much water has flown down the Ganges ever since Sir William Jones laid down the foundation of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, and at the behest of the 'Father of Indian Ethnography' Late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, the then Vice-Chancellor Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, opened the Department of Anthropology in Calcutta University in 1920.

During the 1920s, while the Indian Anthropology at the University level was in its nascent form, the 'British Social Anthropology' and 'American Cultural Anthropology' had attained considerable heights: Radcliffe-Brown's 'Structuralism' and Malinowski's 'Functionalism' had by then gained unchallenged control over the anthropological establishments throughout the British-empire; and after the 'Culture Area Approach', Franz Boas and his young pupils were busy in discovering the impact of 'Culture' on 'Personality', and vice-versa.

In India, the Asiatic Society and the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University both have already celebrated their Bi-Centenary Year and Diamond Jubilee Year, respectively. The Anthropological Survey of India, being the largest anthropological organization in the world has also been celebrating its Golden Jubilee Year. It is, therefore, the high time to take a stock of the growth and achievement of Indian Anthropology. However, it is not the proper place to satiate the academic quest by indulging into anthropological discussions.

The book has been primarily written to meet the felt-need of a quality book on Indian Anthropology. Though, written with central Civil Services Examinations syllabus in mind, it covers the entire gamut of Indian anthropology - from prehistoric past- to the present day Indian Society, from the growth of Indian Anthropology to the history of tribal administration, and from ancient Indian social system to the contemporary tribal culture.

The book contains, inter alia, an up-to-date and critical discussion on the growth of Indian Anthropology. Various Concepts: viz. ① Nature-Man-Spirit Complex, ② Tribe-Caste-Continuum, ③ Great and Little Traditions, ④ Universalization and ⑤ Parochialisation, Dominant Caste, ⑥ Sacred Complex, Sanskritization etc. have been lucidly and comprehensively described. The discussion on Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes is complete and up-to-date. So is the presentation of Demographic Profile of India and Indian Population Policy.



The book is a must for Civil Service Examinees as well as students and teachers in Anthropology, Sociology and other social sciences. Intelligent lay-men and administrators of tribal areas will find the book opening new horizons for them.

The authors, earlier, always desisted any temptation to write a text book-merely catering the demand of the syllabus, as to them it was a non-academic exercise. Therefore, care has been taken in this volume to make it a unique blend of text book and reference book.

In a way, Civil Services Examination in the recent years have made greater contribution to the popularity of Anthropology in India than many of the Anthropological Organizations and Departments in the country. Due to inclusion of the subject as an optional paper in these examinations, anthropology has become tremendous popular among the young graduates of the universities. Other wise, only a decade and half ago if you happened to tell some one that you were an Anthropologist, he might have taken you, with bewilderment, as an Ornithologist!

Such mass popularity of Anthropology has affected the discipline in both-positive and negative ways. In its positive sense people in general and students in particular have become aware of its importance and the role that anthropology could play in ameliorating such human maladies as ethnicity, regionalism, communalism, racism, casteism, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment etc.

In its negative sense, it has been observed in the recent years that there has been mushroom growth of 'pseudo-anthropologists' in several important cities of the country, where 'aspirants' for the civil services examinations are found in abundance. Such 'quacks', who are mostly non-anthropologists are found either busy in writing commercial books for 'sure-success' in Competitive Examinations, or have been engaging classes in 'Coaching Institutes.'

Whereas it is none of our business to interfere in other's business, but it is feared that such over-commercialization of the 'Science of Man' in the long-run would not be favourable and auspicious for the discipline itself. Anthropology is an integrated Science of Man. Field work is an integral part of this discipline. It requires a particular frame work of mind and orientation to become an anthropologist. An anthropologist studies a social phenomena with complete 'objectivity' and with 'Cultural Relativity' in his mind. Such 'Crash Courses' in anthropology would neither help the successful candidates in administration in future nor the discipline would be enriched by them.

It is to be remembered that during the British period the then I.C.S officers to be posted in the tribal and rural areas received orientation courses in anthropology in Oxford and Cambridge. As a result, valuable anthropological literature has been produced by such administrators-cum-scholars.

The administrators in India today have a challenging task before them. The country has been facing manifold socio-economic problems. In the name of caste, creed and religion, there is tension and strife every where. They have to deal with mounting social problems. It is hoped that anthropological knowledge would certainly help them to deal with such problems, objectively and without any prejudice. It is for this reason that the authors resolved to write this volume.

At the same time the 'Science of Man' in India has been passing through a critical period. The overwhelming researches on applied aspects have relegated the fundamental researches in social-cultural anthropology in India. At this juncture, the work of anthropologists engaged in teaching and research in universities becomes more important. On the one hand they have to maintain the academic standards of teaching and research by engaging themselves in fundamental researches in social-cultural anthropology; on the other, they have to take care of the demand of those students who have received no anthropological training, either at the graduate or post graduate level, but have to study the subject for Civil Services Examination. To such novices whatever material in anthropology are provided are usually consumed. Therefore, it is necessary that well trained anthropologists having vast treasure of teaching and research experiences at the university level must come forward to write suitable books for those who have never received any anthropological training earlier.

Keeping the above view-point in mind this volume is an humble presentation to the general readers, students and teachers in anthropology. The volume was planned to be brought out on the eve of the 50th year of Indian independence. Owing to certain unavoidable circumstances the delay in its publication is regretted by the authors. The authors also invite comments from the critical readers so that their suggestions could be incorporated in the next edition.

February 9, 1998.

Senate Hall

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## Chapter 1 INDIA

### AS A SOCIO-CULTURAL ENTITY.

Indian society has always been pluralistic. Right from early Vedic age to the present, India has been a conglomeration of various racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic, social and political groups. She has faced numerous invasions, been ravaged by natural forces but she has never broken down. In the face of such diversity in every aspect of Indian society this existence would not have been possible without inherent unitary features. Among all the nations in the world, only India can boast of five thousand years of continuity in cultural tradition. India's very existence attests to the fact that there is underlying Unity in Diversity.

It were British who made Indian unity an issue and raised the bogey of disunity due to diversity, mainly for two reasons. Firstly, as they came from small island nation with essentially a monolithic society (one language, one religion, one polity, one social system, one food habit, one dress pattern), they genuinely could not comprehend the existence of such a large nation with so much diversity. Secondly, they found it politically expedient to imprint on Indian mind that their departure would result in disintegration of India into a number of smaller nations as before, and, therefore, they should be allowed to rule and hold India together.

There are certain basic characteristics of Indian Culture which have served as infrastructural framework to ensure its existence and continuity inspite of the diversified ways of life exhibited in India. Some of these are :

Geographical - Indian boundary is natural, formed by mighty Himalayan ranges and Indian Ocean. Historically, these barriers have kept India in comparative isolation, allowing it to develop its own culture. But the barriers have never been insuperable. Invaders and traders have always found their way in and out of India- from earliest times up to the Moghals through land, and the British through the sea.

The natural boundary contains within it all the geographical features - high snow clad mountains, mighty rivers, alluvial plains, luxuriant forests, deserts, plateaux, etc. This variation in environment has produced cultures with varying adaptation giving rise to diversities in Indian way of life. Still, all these variation had an underlying similarity unique to India, as we shall see later.



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## Chapter 1

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Historical - All the seemingly different ways of life have, *inter alia*, the sense of shared history in common. They have always been united in the face of foreign invasion, sharing in equal measure the taste of victory and defeat, of trial and tribulations. They have also shared in the ultimate victory a people can have - by assimilating within the fold those who came to conquer them.

Not only to drive the British out of India, but also to repel the Chinese and Pakistani aggressions, the Indians displayed their characteristic unity, by forgetting their internal differences on which the enemies had counted upon to break India.

Religion - In the sphere of religion India achieved utmost success in forging unity and fostering a sense of belonging to the same stock. Indian religion is a panorama of every kind of magico-religious beliefs and practices found anywhere in the world - polytheism, monotheism, ancestor worship, nature worship, etc. Aryans and Dravidians had first achieved unity by adopting each other's beliefs and practices, much before Islam and Christianity were born. Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism and numerous other sects developed as a result of adjustment of various groups and their beliefs. They all had, however, one underlying basic philosophy, one common faith in the purity and value of life benevolence, piety, tolerance, liberality and honesty. Each group believed in the transience of the world, immortality of the soul, law of Karma and rebirth, Monism, Nirvana or Moksha etc.

The major religion of India, Hinduism, stands apart from all other classical great religions - Zionism, Christianity, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Jainism etc. in that it is not a product of any Messiah or Revelation. It is an embodiment of beliefs, faith, and experiences of millions of persons for thousand of years. It embodies beliefs and practices remarkable for their variation and extremes. A vegetarian Vaishnav who offers only flowers and sweets and does not kill even an ant is a Hindu. A follower of Kali, who intoxicates himself and kills animals for blood sacrifices is also a Hindu. An erudite Brahmin, clad in spotless white Dhoti and anointed with sandalwood paste, lecturing in chaste Sanskrit on Vedantic philosophy to a group of scholars is a Hindu. An itinerant mendicant, clothed in mudstained rags, uttering oaths and swearings in vilest language, pedalling divine blessings from door to door is also a Hindu. And so are all the shades of faith in between. Hinduism exists not by exterminating the followers of other faiths, not by rigidity of faith, but by the flexibility of understanding, by its flexibility to accommodate conflicting ideologies and by its tolerance. Indian society and culture has survived all attacks and still flourishes because it inculcates in its members a tolerant attitude.

India's religious unity is underscored by the presence of its followers from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari, and from Assam to Gujrat. Recitation of Ramayan gives as much pleasure to people on the banks of Sutlej, Brahmaputra and Ganges, as it does to those living on the banks of Krishna, Kaveri or Tungbhadra. The dialogues

are in different languages, but Ramayana is played all over India. This unity is also strengthened by the pilgrimages people undertake, visiting Badrinath and Amar Nath in the North, Rameshwaram in the South, Dwarika in the West and Puri and Kamrup in the East. These pilgrimages are not only meant to help in the Indian's quest for the ultimate, but also to remind him of the vastness of the country, and varieties of ways of life he encounters in his journey, as well as to instill in him an idea of religious and cultural unity that exists in India.

The arrival of Islam and Christianity also could not break this unity. As these could not be assimilated, these were accepted as additional dimensions of Indian religion, being allowed not only to survive and grow, but also to proselytize. In India today, Mosques are to be found as much in Uttar Pradesh as in Tamil Nadu, and Churches in far North-East Nagaland as well as in extreme South-West Kerala. There are many number of villages in India where both a temple and a mosque exist side by side.

In short, India's religious unity is maintained by the flexibility, tolerance and adaptability of beliefs and practices more than anything else.

Language - India has always been multi-lingual. In earliest Vedic times, Sanskrit was the language of the elite, common people spoke Pali and Prakrit, while hundreds of other tribal groups spoke various dialects. As new groups kept pouring into India, number of dialects increased, which further multiplied by mutual interactions and synthesis, as well as assimilation of tribal groups into Hindu fold. Persian and Arabic were added when Muslims came to India, and English when the British ruled. Urdu came into existence due to synthesis of Persian and Hindi.

Today, Indian constitution recognises 15 languages. In addition, about 500 dialects are spoken. These fall into four linguistic families - Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibbeto-Chinese. Broadly, languages and dialects spoken in Kashmir (except Ladakh), Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan, Gujrat, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Coastal Orissa and Maharashtra belong to Aryan family. Those spoken in four southern states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala belong to Dravid family. Tibbeto-Chinese languages are spoken in Ladakh, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur and Tripura. The Austro-Asiatic family of dialects do not occupy a geographically continuous territory but are scattered in pockets and spoken in forested and hilly tracts of Chhotanagpur and Santhal Parganas in Bihar, north and west Orissa, north Andhra Pradesh and parts of Aravalli and Vindhyan ranges.

There is intimate link between spoken word and territory, or a language and a region. This link is further strengthened because a region is usually defined on the basis of languages. Therefore, linguistic chauvinism always leads to strong regionalism - a divisive force in a composite and pluralistic society like India.



This got further impetus after Independence when states were reorganised on the basis of language, so that a state boundary is co-terminus with linguistic boundary, particularly in the South, North-East and West. An absence of 'national' language is extremely felt.

However, Hindi, declared as the 'official' language of India, because it is spoken by the largest percentage of population, is slowly spreading. English is still the *de facto* official language of India, being popular among the ruling classes and urban elites. Hindi is spoken and understood by about 45% of people. These two languages are serving as "contact languages". The adoption of "three language formula" has curbed the violent linguistic agitations witnessed in the sixties. There is a distinct trend of popularity of Hindi, brought about by Cinema and T.V., and it appears, Hindi will soon acquire the status granted to it by the Constitution.

Here again, the fundamental Indian principle of co-existence, adjustment and tolerance plays its role. In spite of variations in language and dialects, at the cultural level there is no animosity or conflict. Indians do not fight each other because each is speaking a different language. The conflict is limited in scope and is mainly at the level of electoral politics. The feeling of oneness, of belonging to the same nation, and of sharing the same cultural heritage is not marred at all.

**Social life** - In social life, the Indians have always advocated a multisided integral progress as an ideal. Since earliest times, the Indian ideal of *Purusharthas* - *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kama* & *Moksha* - has presented an integral view of life. So did the *Varna* system. The multiplicity of social elements, and a basically unitary approach led to the establishment of Indian Caste system which is unique in the world. Unique in the sense that it was the culmination of an effort to integrate in one whole the divergences in social, economic and religious aspects of Indian society. In other words, caste system embodies an integration of principles of three major dimensions of Indian life - division of labour and occupation in economic dimension, social stratification, social relations and *Karma* (duty) in social dimension, and transmigration of soul and rebirth in religious dimension.

The criticism of Indian view of life as escapist and otherworldly due to the ultimate ideals of *Moksha* or *Nirvana*, is unfounded, because these overlook the sage *Vaisya*'s emphasis on the ideal of *Kama* in *Kama-sutra*, and *Kautilya*'s and *Charvak*'s emphasis on *Artha* and material life. In fact, every point of view has been fully treated as legitimate ideal, which a man or a group may pursue according to their specific leanings. And here lies the secret of Indian unity and its persistence through time.

**Food and Dress** - In India today, a Punjabi *Dhaba* in Madras, a South-Indian restaurant in Chandigarh, a Bengali sweetmeat shop in Bombay, a Marathi *Bhel-pool* *shela* in Patna, and *Marwari* *Basas* everywhere is a very common sight. People of North India very much relish the *Idli-Dosa* of Tamilnadu. While South Indians are equally fond of *Dam* *Alloo* and *Chapani*. In fact *Muchh-Bhaji* *Makke*

*ki-roti* and *Sarason-Ka-Saag*, *Dosa-Sambhar-Idli*, *Sattu*, *Dahi-Chura*, *Biryani*, *Pulao*, etc., are no longer specific to any province but a part of national food.

Similarly, *Sherwani*, *Kurta-pajama*, *Lungi*, *Dhoti*, *Salwar-kameez* etc., are a part of national dress, apart from Western pant, shirt, coat, skirt, blouse etc. In the matter of food and dress there is a tendency to greater unity than regional diversity.

**Entertainment** - Traditionally, entertainment in India consisted of performance of classical dance and music in urban centres, and of various types of pantomimes, mimicry, *Ramlila*, acrobatics etc., in rural areas. A separate group of professional dancers, who also indulged in selective prostitution, living in semi-segregated areas in towns with their one band of musicians playing *Tabla*, *Sitar*, and *Harmonium*, catered to upper and middle classes. A visit to their houses, the *Kothas*, though not perfectly legitimate, was not discouraged. They were also called to perform at social functions such as marriage ceremonies etc.

Male dancers' experts in various classical school of dance *Bharat-natyam*, *Kathakali*, *Odissi* etc., and also musicians, experts in playing *Sitar*, *Tabla*, *Bansuri*, *Veena*, *Sarangi* etc., following various schools, or *Charanas*, performed at larger social gatherings. All these programmes were attended by people without any consideration of caste and creed and contributed much to social unity.

Many castes and tribes also specialized in entertainment and performed mainly in rural areas. *Nats*, *Mirasi*, *Madari*, *Bahurupiya*, and such strollers, itinerant caste groups provide entertainment at village markets where people of large areas gather. Professional bards also moved from village to village, singing songs on topics of national importance, such as heroic deeds and exploits of *Shivaji*, *Rani Laxmi Bai*, *Kunwar Singh*, *Alha*, *Maharana Pratap* etc. These performances, apart from entertaining their audiences, also contributed in fostering a sense of unity and enlarging the rural perspective to national level. This was the situation until about the independence of India.

The introduction of cinema and radio transformed the scene almost overnight. Although films are being made in regional languages also, the success of Hindi films, with their popular songs and music, all over India has contributed a lot in creating and maintaining unity at national level through entertainment. When one travels from Kashmir to Tamilnadu, or from Gauhati to Gandhinagar, one will hear the same songs blaring out of loudspeakers. The theme of the film may depict a scene in Punjab, it is easily accepted in Kerala. The Hero may be a muslim, he is dear to devout and orthodox Hindu. The heroine may be from Bengal, she is popular in Maharashtra. The music may owe its origin to Assam, it is sung in Gujrat. The very person who may declare they do not know Hindi to a census official nevertheless, do understand Hindi, thanks to Indian cinema. To this, now, has been added T.V. with similar results.

In fact the entertainment aspect too does belie the divergences, and shows that India is an entity in socio-cultural life.



Conclusion - Unity does not mean glorification of one element at the cost of others. Nor does monolithic structures promote unity. A human body is much more divergent and diversified than that of, say, an earthworm, but it cannot be said that a human body is less likely to survive because of divergences. It is neither the number of elements, nor the divergences in structure, that are of importance. The importance lies in the principle behind the integration of constituent elements, the pattern of structure. India has shown that the principles of tolerance, co-existence, objectivity, secularism and adaptability are necessary to keep even most divergent societies firmly together in perfect peace and harmony. Different forms have been integrated into one complete whole, and each form is allowed to express, and prefers, its own point of view within the limitation of the maintenance of the whole. Whenever faced with conflicting ideas or warring groups, Indian reaction has never been to exterminate them, but to incorporate them.

This is the main reason why India has never faced any bloody revolution-unlike most western countries. Indian system has been flexible and adaptive enough to adjust to the changing circumstances without a revolution. It is this adaptability that allowed India, almost overnight, to repudiate five thousand years of monarchy and accept democracy without any upheaval. Only in a few decades it has established as a mature democratic republic.

Secularism is another pillar of Indian socio-cultural edifice. In its long history, India has fought many major wars, but they were all political wars, most of them thrust upon it by foreign invaders. It is an example of India's inherent secularism that it has never fought a religious war-a *Jehad* or crusade. Indians have never forced others to convert at all. It is a measure of the strength of Indians secularism that even though partitioned on religious lines, it opted for a secular country and remains so in spite of provocation. It is also the main reason why certain political parties, despite whipping up Hindu fanaticism have failed to secure the support of a majority of Hindus. Secularism is ingrained in Indian psyche, regularly reinforced by philosophers and religious reformers like Buddha, Nanak, Kabir, Vivekanand, Radhakrishnan and Gandhi, all of whom have reiterated the oneness of supreme God, whatever name different people know him by.

To sum up Indian Great Tradition is so rich, Little Tradition so adaptive, and the cultural media so strong that Indian civilization, society, and culture has been and still is a fully integrated whole, and will remain so as long as the integrative principle it adopted early is not discarded.

## Chapter 2

# EVOLUTION OF INDIAN CULTURE & CIVILIZATION

Among all the cultures and civilizations that are existing on the earth, Indian culture is unique in the sense that it has the oldest continuity in tradition. Right from the earliest period of man's emergence on this planet, through all the stages of bio-cultural evolution, up to the present stage in the closing years of the 20th Century, Indian culture has exhibited remarkable adaptability, resilience and tenacity in face of ever changing natural and cultural environment. In this long past, it has had its moments of glory as the beacon of human civilization, as well as ignominy of subjugation under alien powers. It has often been down but never was out.

In this chapter we shall get a glimpse of the evolution of Indian culture from earliest prehistoric times to the beginning of historic era.

## SOME BASIC TERMS

Before we proceed to understand the remote past of Indian culture, it is better to understand some key words used in the context of Prehistory.

(a) **Prehistory** - Literally meaning 'before history', the term is used to denote both the times, as well as the major cultural events during that period i.e. before man had invented writing of any form.

(b) **Protohistoric** - The cultures who remained without writing, but still show a well developed settled life, and also those whose writings are yet to be deciphered are termed protohistoric.

(c) **Glaciation** - In the last few hundred thousand years, the earth's climate has undergone dramatic fluctuations. As a result great ice-sheets, dozen of meters in height, covered the major portion of earth. Whole of western Europe, part of England, major parts of North America, Siberia, Sub-Himalayan regions in India, were affected for thousands of years. This phenomenon is called glaciation. In the tropical areas, corresponding period witnessed continuous rainfall, called pluviation. Four phases of glaciation have been identified. Their tentative dates and names are --

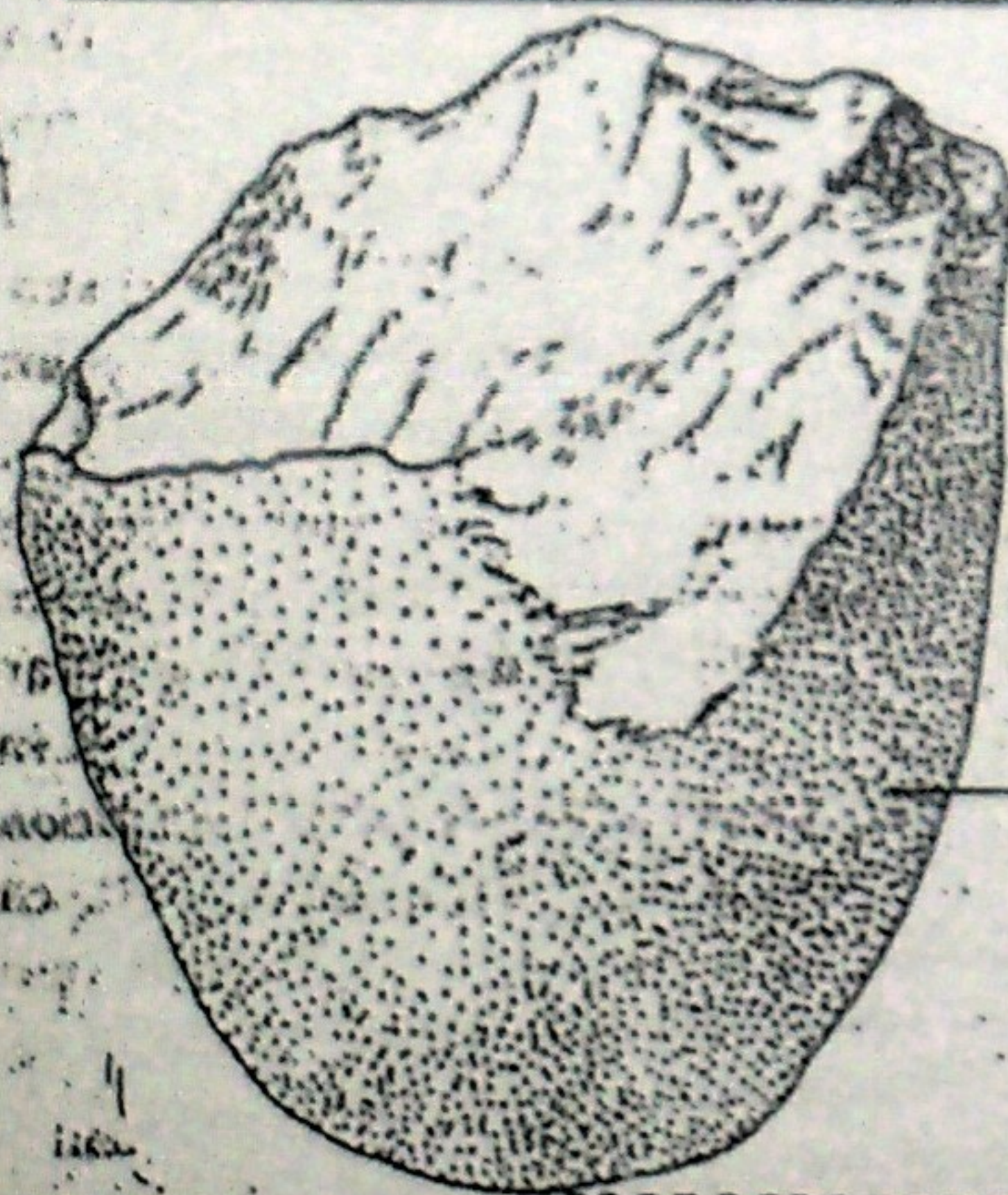
(a) Gunz	- 6,00,000 yrs.	- 5,50,000 yrs. before present
(b) Mindel	- 4,80,000 yrs.	- 4,40,000 yrs. before present
(c) Riss	- 2,90,000 yrs.	- 1,90,000 yrs. before present
(d) Wurin	- 80,000 yrs.	- 10,000 yrs. before present



(d) Pleistocene - The geological time period, which saw the emergence of Man on earth, beginning about two million years ago and ending with the last ice age, or glaciation.

(e) Cultural Chronology - The succession of industries (similar tool making on similar raw materials on a large-scale) in a time sequence. A general world chronology is given below with European prehistoric nomenclature. The time period may vary from place to place.

Cultural Chronology	Industry	Time
Palaeolithic	Lower ✓ 1. ABBEVILLIAN	5,40,000 B.P.
	✓ 2. CLACTONIAN	to
	✓ 3. ACHEULIAN	1,40,000 B.P.
	✓ 4. LEVALLOISIAN	" "
Middle	1. MOUSTERIAN	1,40,000-70,000 yrs. B.P.
Upper	1. CHATELPERRONIAN	" "
	2. AURIGNACIAN	" "
	3. GREVATTIAN	70,000-20,000 Yrs. B.P.
	4. SOLUTREAN	" "
	5. MAGDALENIAN	" "
Mesolithic		20,000 - 9,500 B.P.
Neolithic		9,500 - 4,500 B.P.
Chalcolithic		4,500 - 3,500 B.P.
Iron Age		3,500 B.P.



ABBEVILLIAN TOOL



## PREHISTORIC CULTURE IN INDIA

Man has been living in India for the last half a million years and has left material remains of his handiwork, if not always his own skeleton, which are woefully lacking up to about 10,000 years ago. The remains are mostly prepared on stone. Therefore the period is known as Stone Age.

The stone age is further divided into three subdivisions. They are :

- |                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| (a) Palaeolithic | - Early Stone Age |
| (b) Mesolithic   | - Middle Age      |
| (c) Neolithic    | - New Stone Age   |

## PALAEOLITHIC CULTURE OF INDIA

The early stone age covers a long period of time and hence has been further subdivided into three stages - Lower Palaeolithic, Middle Palaeolithic and Upper Palaeolithic.

## THE LOWER PALAEOLITHIC

It is the earliest period of human existence and continued from the end of the First Ice Age (Gunz Glaciation) through the Second Ice Age (Mindel Glaciation) up to the end of Third Ice Age (Riss Glaciation). This was a period of extreme climatic fluctuation. Man had to struggle with the elements as well as wild animals with puny tools made of stone, bone and wood.

The Indian Lower Palaeolithic Culture can be better understood if we take a survey of the sites from where tools have been found and consider the types of these tools, technique employed to manufacture them, the probable functions that they served etc. In order to do this we divide India into three zones - North India, Middle India and South India, on the basis of major tool types found.

## NORTH INDIA

INDUS

The most important tool site in North Indian Lower Palaeolithic is Sohan Valley, a small tributary of Ganges, which now lies in Pakistan. Other important sites are Chauntra and Guler in H.P., Singrauli Basin in U.P., Chhotanagpur plateau in Bihar, Damodar Valley in West Bengal, Brahmani Basin, Keonjhar and Mahanadi Basin in Orissa.

The chief tool of this period as far as North India is concerned are Chopper and Chopping tools prepared on pebbles. Choppers are made by unifacial flaking while Chopping are made by bifacial flaking. The flakings are mostly primary the blow being delivered by block on block technique or by stone hammer.

The key site which yields tools in greatest number and in successive stages, of course is Sohan Valley. Discovered in 1936 by De Terra and Patterson under the auspices of Yale-Cambridge Expedition, Sohan Valley is the representative site in



entire Indian palaeolithic. Rive Sohan flows through a raised plateau, called Potwar Plateau, with the city of Islamabad in its centre and bounded by extensions of Siwaliks in the east, Himalays in the North, Pirpanjal in the West and Salt Ranges in the East.

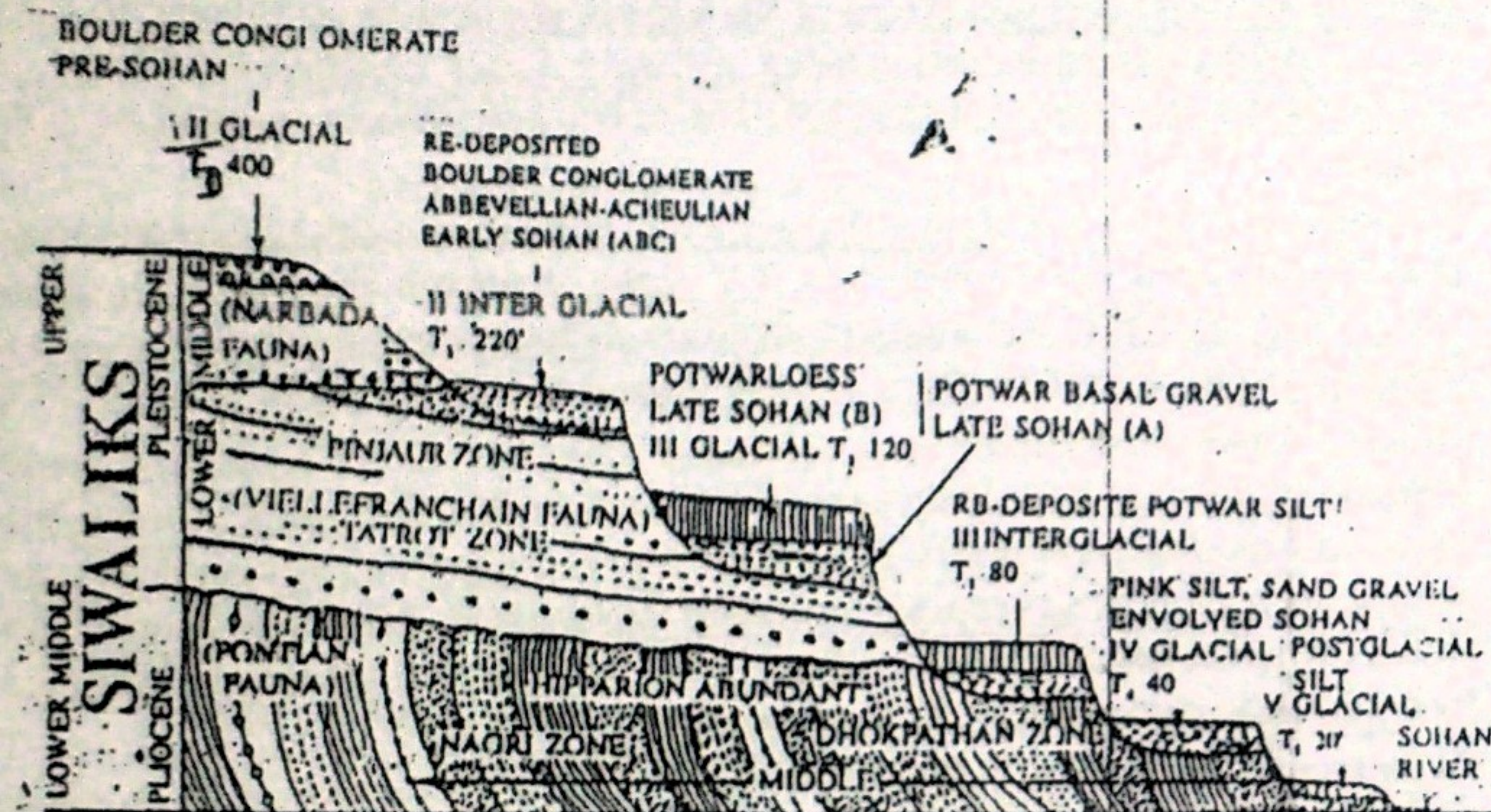


Fig. 1 : Transverse Section through the Sohan Valley

As can be seen in the chart, six terraces were found, four of which yield tools.

**First Terrace (T<sub>1</sub>)** - This terrace, the top most one, is 400' high and was made during II<sup>nd</sup> Glacial period. It is the oldest terrace, being composed of Boulder Conglomerate.

The tools found from this terrace are called Pre-Sohan. These are big sized tools, made of quartzite, and are in very worn condition. They are supposed to be the remains of oldest human culture in the whole of Europe and Asia.

**Second Terrace (T<sub>2</sub>)** - Made during II<sup>nd</sup> Interglacial, this terrace, at a height of 220' is composed of redeposited Boulder Conglomerate.

The tools from this terrace, the Early Sohan, are of various shapes and sizes. On the basis of their state of preservation, they are divided into three chronological series, A, B, and C. The Early Sohan A tools are most heavily worn and deeply patinated. The early sohan B tools are equally patinated but less worn, while Early Sohan C tools are least patinated and worn.

**Third Terrace (T<sub>3</sub>)** - Found at a height of 120' from the present Sohan water level, this terrace was formed during III<sup>rd</sup> glacial phase. It comprised of two

layers - the lower, therefore older one, composed of Potwar basal gravel, and the upper, therefore younger one, composed of potwar Loess.

The tools collected from gravel layer are called Late Sohan A and those from Loess layer Late Sohan B. Both A and B groups are almost similar medium sized pebble tools of various shapes, having secondary flaking. These are choppers and chopping tools, besides some discoid cores. The flaking in Late Sohan A and B exhibit progressive development. These are comparable to levallois industry of Europe as both levallois flakes and tortoise-shaped cores are found.

From chauntra, a place near Rawalpindi, handaxes and Cleavers are found in the same stratigraphic context. These biface tools existed together with non-biface of Sohan, and it makes the site unique in the world.

**Fourth Terrace (T<sub>4</sub>)** - This terrace was formed during III<sup>rd</sup> Interglacial period and is composed of redeposited Potwar gravel and silt. The height is 80'. No tools were found from this terrace.

**The Fifth Terrace (T<sub>5</sub>)** - This was formed during IV<sup>th</sup> glacial phase, being composed of a mixture of pink silt, gravel and sand, at a height of 40'.

It yields what is called Evolved Sohan tools. These are further developments of the Levallois noticed in the Late Sohan A and B. They are now thinner and slender, more blade-like, hence equated with upper Palaeolithic.

**Sixth Terrace (T<sub>6</sub>)** - The lowest terrace is at a height of 20' and was formed very recently (Holocene). It is composed of silt and contains no tools.

In addition, tools were found from the following places, which are a part of North Indian Lower Palaeolithic culture, because the tools types are similar to Sohan Valley.

1. Nalagarh on Sirsa river near Ropar in Punjab has three terraces at a height of 70', 40' and 10'. The tools are pebble and flake tools made on quartzite and are mainly choppers and scrapers. These typologically resemble the Early Sohan industry.
2. Beas and Banganga Valley in Punjab also have many terraces and contain tools of Early Sohan type being mainly chopper and chopping tools.
3. Other sites are Uttar Pradesh - Singrauli basin, Bihar - Roro Valley in Chaibasa, Nimdih and Chandil on the banks of Swarnarekha river, Chormara and Bhimbandh in Monghyr district.
4. West Bengal-Mednapore and Purulia district.
5. Orissa-Burhabalang and Brahmani basin.

### CENTRAL INDIA

The central India, as far as Lower Palaeolithic is concerned, comprises Madhya

Chauntra - site of Late Sohan terrace  
choppers & Handaxes  
are found in same stratigraphic context  
→ This made it unique in world

\* T<sub>3</sub> & T<sub>5</sub> of Sohan  
No tools are found



Pradesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan. This area exhibits a mixture of pebble tools of chopper/chopping variety and Hand Axes of Southern India. Thus, central India may be called a meeting ground of two main cultural traditions-the Sohanian and the Madrasian.

Key Site - The banks of Narmada river, particularly between Narsimhapur and Hoshangabad.

Narmada Valley Stratigraphy  
(Central Indian Lower Palaeolithic)

Periods	Deposits	Sub Divisions	Climate	Archaeology	Sohan Equivalent Arch. Terrace
Holocene	Cotton-Soil Group	Black or Cotton-soil	Dry	Microoliths	T <sub>5</sub>
Upper Pleistocene		Fine Gravel	Wet	Small flakes and blades	Evolved Sohan T <sub>4</sub>
Middle Pleistocene	Upper group	Pink silt	Dry	Rolled Acheulian Hand axe + Cleaves	T <sub>1</sub>
		Upper Gravel	Wet	Levalloisian Flakes	Late Sohan T <sub>2</sub>
	Lower Group	Pink Clay	Dry	Late Acheulian Hand axe + Cleavers	Early Sohan T <sub>1</sub>
		Basal cemented Gravel	Wet	Abbevillian-Acheulian Hand axe + Cleavers	Pre Sohan T <sub>0</sub>

The Narmada stratigraphy shows that there was a succession of wet and dry phases (Pluvials and inter-pluvials) corresponding, chronologically, to the glacial and inter-glacial periods of Himalayan region. In all, six strata have been identified by De Terra, who had studied Sohan Valley, geologically and chronologically, so that an integrated picture of Indian lower palaeolithic could emerge.

The strata are divided into three groups, each with two subdivisions. The lower stratum is composed of basal cemented gravel which lies above lateritic rock. It was formed during II<sup>nd</sup> Pluvial period and contains Abbevillian-Acheulian hand axe and cleavers, and is comparable to the Pre-Sohan industry. Above it lies pink clay stratum containing Late Acheulian hand axes. These two form the lower group.

II The upper group, subdivided into strata of gravel and pink silt, provides tools comparable to the Late Sohan and consists of Rolled Acheulian hand axes and levalloisian flakes.

III The top most stratum is composed of black cotton soil and was formed during Holocene. It contains a few microliths.

## OTHER SITES IN CENTRAL INDIA

Bhimbetka - This is a group of about 200 caves about 40 km north of Narmada river in Raisen district of M.P. One of the caves, measuring 40 x 12 x 15 meters and bearing number III F 23, is the most important site because it was occupied by the prehistoric man continuously. The cave soil shows 8 layers of which the last three layers 6 to 8, give late Acheulian tools. The cave itself was the site where tools were prepared due to a large percentage of waste material (about 68%) of the total collection. Some of the biface are as long as 22 cms. and the technique is considered the best in India. Levalloisian chips, cleavers, side-scuters and points are also seen in abundance. The caves were studied in detail by V.N. Mishra.

Adamgarh - This is a site of rock-shelters, a few kilometers south of river Narmada in Hoshangabad. It was excavated by R.V. Joshi. It contains about 35% choppers and 15% of hand axes and cleavers together. A Homo erectus fossil was found from Hathnora. → Known as Narmada Man - only skeletal remain of Lower Palaeolithic man in India.

Gujrat - Lower Palaeolithic sites are found along almost all rivers and water courses in Gujrat and Saurashtra peninsula. It appears that during Pleistocene, the area was full of tropical forest. Sabarmati, Mahi, Orsang and Karjan rivers are replete with chopper-chopping tools and hand axes. Although clear-cut stratigraphy is not possible at many sites, it is evident that the region was occupied by people who prepared early to late Acheulian tools.

Rajasthan - Aravalli hills in Rajasthan are the source of a number of small rivers which flow into river Banas, which, in turn, merges with Chambal. This area was extensively surveyed by V.N. Mishra. Nagari and Chittorgarh are one of the richest sites in India. The tools from this area show a mixture of chopper chopping on pebble and Hand axes, along with cleaver. Presence of very small hand axes (about 4 cm - 6 cm) is a unique feature of this area. Didwana, near Jodhpur, is another important area where nearly 30 sites have been located.

## SOUTH INDIA

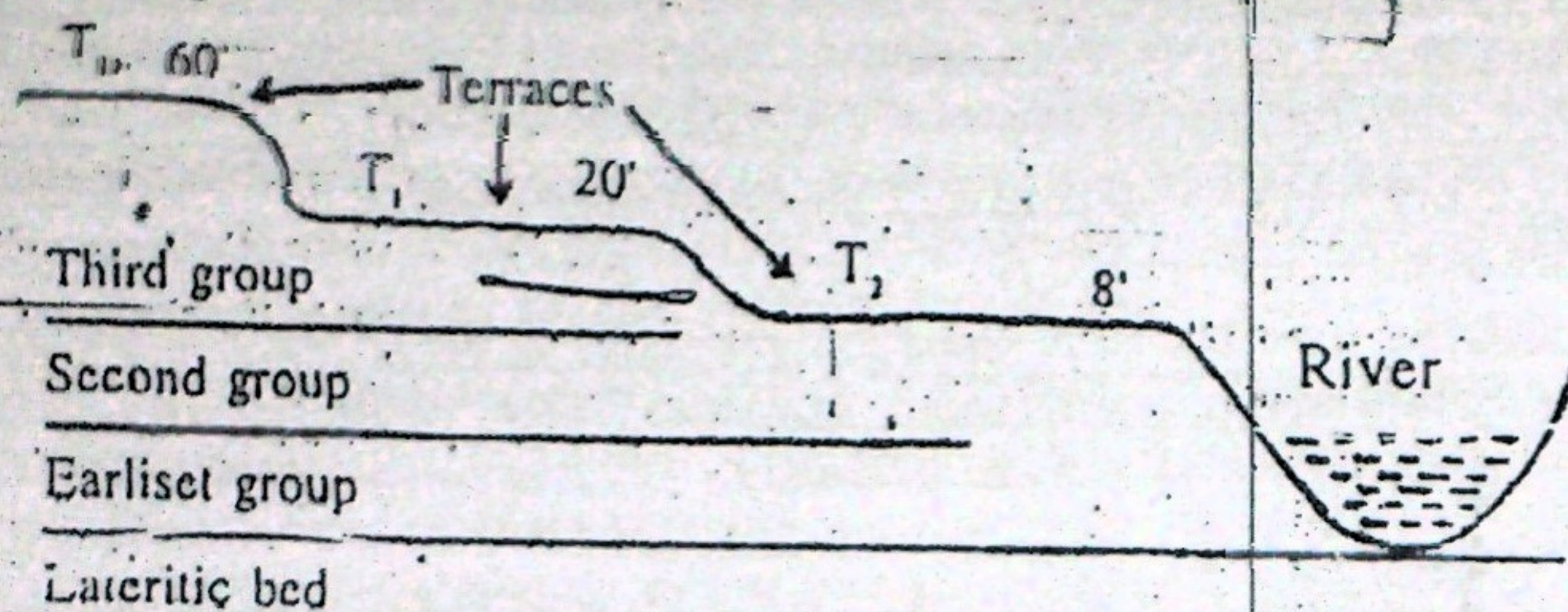
This area comprises of Tamilnadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra. Of these, Kerala has so far yielded no lower palaeolithic site.

The Key Site - Attirampakkam and Vadamanadurai on Kortalayar river near Madras. Krishnaswamy and De Terra and Patterson have studied this site. Here both stratigraphy and river terraces are used to describe the evolution of lower Palaeolithic culture.

Three terraces at a height of 60', 20' and 8' are found, though they all contain similar tools. The excavation has revealed the site to be composed of a lowest lateritic plain which is completely sterile. Above this are found layers of boulders and clay which yield tools. The following chart will explain the composition of the site.

Narmada Man - name given to the fossil of homo erectus found in Hathnora (Hoshangabad MP). This is unique b/c it is the only skeletal remain of lower palaeolithic man found in





Attirampakkam Geo-Cultural Chart

Deposites	Group	Patination	Archaeology
Surface	Terraces T <sub>3</sub> , T <sub>2</sub> , T <sub>1</sub>	No patination	Late Acheulian Hand axes plus cleavers of all types
	IIIrd Group	No laterite staining	Hand axes by cylinder hammer technique + cleavers
Boulder conglomerate	IIrd Group	Stained red but no patination	Fine pear and ovate shaped Acheulian hand axes
	Earliest Group	Non-Laterized Heavy cream coloured patination	Late Series - early Acheulian hand axe; step flaking Early series - Abbevillian hand axe, pebble-butted

The earliest group is divided into two - early and late series. These are most heavily patinated Abbevillian and Acheulian hand axes. The second group is without patination but with lateritic stains. The third group contains both hand axes and cleavers.

The tools collected from the three terraces are of very late Acheulian variety. They are thin, elongated and made on flakes. Cleavers of all types are also found from these terraces.

**Karnataka** - Kaveri, Tungbhadra and Pennar are the major rivers of Karnataka. In addition, there are numerous small streams and rivulets which flow into these rivers. All these water courses are full of palaeolithic tool sites. The major sites in the state are :

- Kibhanhalli
- Malprabha and Ghatprabha basins.
- Anagwadi
- Shorapur doab in Gulbarga District.

Although stratigraphic context of these sites are not very explicit, typologically they are very rich in lower Palaeolithic tools. At Kibhanhalli, Abbevillian and Acheulian hand axes, cleavers, scrapers as well as pebble choppers and chopping are found.

Malprabha and Ghatprabha are two tributaries of Krishna river. Anagwadi, a site on the banks of Ghatprabha about 15 kms. from Bagalkot, has a small hill of quartzite, the raw material used for making tools in prehistory. Here more than half (52%) of the tools are hand axes, scrapers 23% and cleavers 19%. It has given us two rare tool types - a tool with chisel-end, and the other a boak-shaped point.

**Andhra Pradesh** - Andhra Pradesh is one of the richest centres of early Palaeolithic, in fact of later periods as well. The major sites are :

- Banks of Gundlokamma river in Kurnool district
- Nagarjun Konda on river Krishna
- Karempudi on Naguleru river
- Giddalur

Here again, a stratigraphic division is not available in detail. Pebble tools are in appreciable quantity in almost all of Andhra sites. It is difficult to postulate a Sohanian influence so far South, therefore, it seems that they form a sub stratum of the Hand-axe industry, as in Africa.

Nagarjunkonda is the site occupied by man from Lower Palaeolithic till Neolithic. The lower Palaeolithic tools comprise pebble tools hand axes and levallois cores and flakes. Other sites also show a similar pattern with crude Abbevillian and finer Acheulian hand axes.

**Maharashtra** - From available evidences it is clear that man occupied whole of Maharashtra on the banks of Godavari, Tapi, Wainganga, Wardha, Damana rivers and their tributaries. The important sites are :

- Nasik
- Nevasa
- Pune

Nasik, on the river Godavari, contains hand axes and cleavers in about equal number, Nevasa provides hand axes of three types - pear-shaped, heart-shaped and rostrocarinate - cleavers, choppers, and flakes. A few kilometers downstream the river Pravara, another locality, Chirki-Nevasa, contains no flakes, which is a peculiarity because on the basis of retouchings, the site is assigned to late Acheulian period. Pune gives chopper, chopping cores and flakes but no hand axes.

**Lower Palaeolithic Culture** - A survey of Lower Palaeolithic sites in India shows that except Kerala, whole of India was inhabited by prehistoric man. He occupied river banks, particularly rocky ones, where he could get stone for tools, and water. The Northern India, around Kashmir, witnessed glaciation while the other areas saw a succession of wet and dry phases or pluvial and interpluvials.

Their tool kit contained chopper and chopping tools, hand axes and cleavers. Their precise function cannot be known but some inferences can be drawn. The



chopper-chopping tools of north shows that Sohan people were simple food gatherers and not warlike. Hand axes were all-purpose tools and could have been used both for hunting and digging roots.

It can be said that Lower Palaeolithic people were nomadic hunters and food-gatherers. They were organized in very small groups.

## MIDDLE AND UPPER PALAEOLITHIC IN INDIA

For a long time, it was believed that stone age culture in India did not have middle and upper palaeolithic stage. The latter is not yet distinctly recognized as it is incomparable to their counterparts in Europe and Africa. Still, now, both stages can be demonstrated to have been a part of Indian prehistoric past though specific stratigraphic context is not well illustrated.

## MIDDLE PALAEOLITHIC IN INDIA *scrapers, boar, Point*

Unlike Lower Palaeolithic, there are few, if any, key sites where detailed study of this period could be done. Though there are sites rich in cultural material, these are in regional pockets, and a widespread, vibrant middle palaeolithic culture in India is still eluding us.

One of the striking features of Middle Palaeolithic is the complete change of raw material in nearly 90% of the cases, as compared to Lower Palaeolithic from quartzite to chalcedony, chert and jasper.

The main tools of this period are side scrapers with many subtypes, points with triangular cross sections, borers, and other basically lower palaeolithic tools as biface-handaxes and cleavers and chopper/chopping on pebble. *H.D. Sankalia*

It was from Nevasa on river Pravar in Maharashtra that Sankalia first discovered Middle Palaeolithic tools in 1955. This gave the stage the name of Nevasian culture.

Maharashtra - Nevasa on Pravara and Kalegaon, Bel Pandhari and Surgaon are the important stratified sites in Maharashtra. These sites yield scrapers, borers and points in that order of percentages. Points are tanged or shouldered.

Karnataka - Taminhal, Bagalkot, Anagwadi, Sangankallu etc. are the major sites in Karnataka which yield large tools on jasper. Side scraper is the most dominant type followed by borers and points.

Andhra Pradesh - Kurnool, Chittoor and Nalgonda districts are replete with sites yielding middle palaeolithic tools, although clear stratigraphic context is missing. There is also not much change in raw material. Here again, scrapers are predominant. Fine grained quartzite is used as raw material, but levalloisian technique is not frequent.

Madhya Pradesh - Narmada, Betwa, Shivna and Chambal valleys are rich in

middle palaeolithic tools. Besides Bhimbetka, Gonchi, Damoh and Sihora are the major sites. Bhimbetka there is no change in raw material while Gonchi and Sihora on Betwa river show patinated chert tools. Side scrapers, again, are the major tools, followed by points and borers. The use of levalloisian technique is well marked. Overall, this zone is the best representative of middle palaeolithic in India.

In addition, river Bhadar in Gujarat, Luni Valley in Rajasthan, Kangra Valley in Punjab, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar in Orissa, Belan Valley in U.P., Gudiyam in Tamilnadu, Borivali-Kandivalli in Bombay are also middle palaeolithic sites in India.

Middle palaeolithic Culture - The climate during this period was much wetter. Man lived along foot hills and river banks. The tools were not primary but were meant to prepare larger ones on wood and bone. The type of the tools - scraper, borer, point show that open woodlands were preferred to thick forest where hunting would be very difficult.

The tools on flake are in a majority, so middle palaeolithic has been called a flake culture. New raw materials and new technique were used to prepare the tools. The presence of many varieties of scrapers lead us to infer that some of them may have been used to scrape animal skin for clothing also.

## UPPER PALAEOLITHIC IN INDIA *Blade, Burin*

Even when the existence of middle Palaeolithic in India had been established the presence of upper palaeolithic was doubtful. However, discoveries of blade and burins, with bone tools in many sites in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, first compelled the archaeologists to make provision for Upper Palaeolithic. Later discoveries of sites from Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh have finally proved the existence of Upper palaeolithic, though it is still recognized only typologically. Clear stratigraphic evidences are still not very clear.

Andhra Pradesh - In Andhra Pradesh, on the banks of river Rallakalaya in Chittoor district, there are a number of localities at Renigunta yielding upper palaeolithic tools. The localities are Thimmayyagunta, Venkamanayanipalli, Chundi, Yedullacheruvu and Nallagundlu. Of these, the first three are exclusive upper palaeolithic sites, while the last two yield tools in association with microlithics. M.L.K. Murthy reports that from a trench dug at Nallagundlu, nearly 6,000 tools were recovered. The blades and burin form the largest group, and are made of fine grained olive green quartzite. The burins, too, match the European and West Asian specimens in shape and size.

Yerragondapalem is another site in A.P., yielding upper palaeolithic tools, and quite similar geographically, typologically and chronologically to Renigunta.

Muchchada Chintamani Gavi - It is a cave site in Kurnool distt of Andhra



Pradesh, also studied by M.L.K. Murthy. The bone component of tool is about 90%, that of stone only 10%. The bone tools are scrapers (8%), perforator (40%), shouldered points (18%), chisels (8%), barks (12%) etc. The animals are primates, carnivores, rodents as well as gazelle, antelope, buffalo etc.

Karnataka - The area between rivers Krlahna and Bhima, the Shorapur Doab, is rich in prehistoric sites. At Meralbhavi, a site excavated by Paddayya, about 650 tools were found, most of them scrapers, backed blades and burins. These, according to Sankalia, are slightly earlier than the blade and burin industry at Renigunta.

Maharashtra - Near Chalisgaon, a site called Patna has been excavated by S.S. Sali which, stratigraphically, reveals four phases of upper palaeolithic. A distinct blade and burin industry flourished in this area. The tools were made on jasper and chalcedony. The blades are tanged, backed, pen knife blades and finely retouched.

About 100 small pieces of egg shells of Ostrich, which is now not found in India, has also been found from this site.

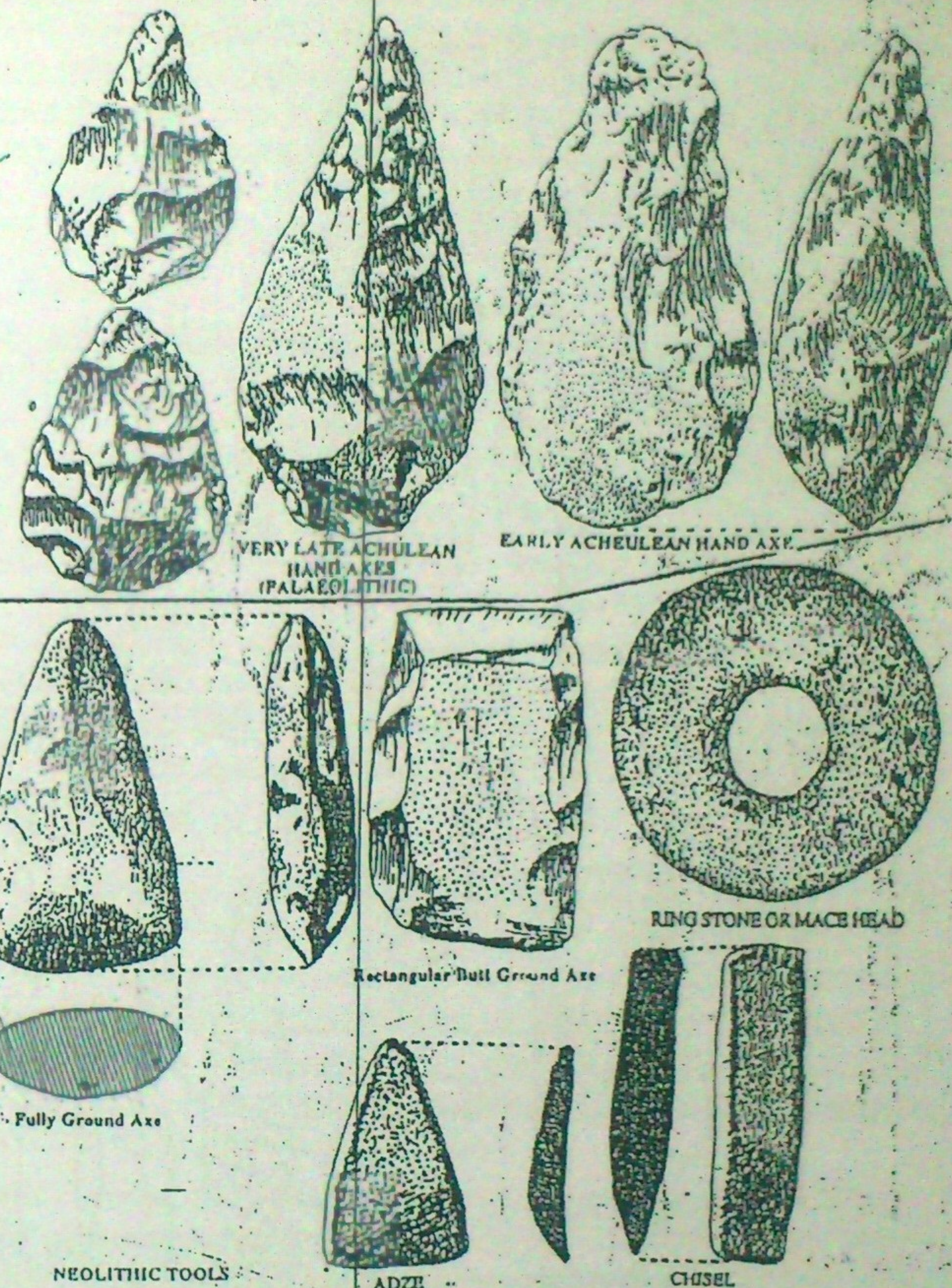
Madhya Pradesh - Bhimbetka is in Raisen district where nearly 700 Caves and rock shelters have been found. One of them III F23 has yielded 1.5 meter thick deposits divided into 8 layers, one of the layers, just below the microlithic layer, yields burin on thick blades, and several types of scrapers, comparable to classical types of Western Europe.

Uttar Pradesh - Many small rivers like Son, Keoti etc. rise in North - East Vindhyan range and flow into gangbotic system. Baran is a tributary river and its valley near Allahabad, is an Upper Palaeolithic site. On Son river also, a site called Baran has recently been excavated. Both backed and retouched blades, and burins made on chert have been found.

Conclusion - It is clear from a survey of sites that though an Upper Palaeolithic culture comparable to Western Europe may not be found in India, its presence ~~is not denied~~. The main objection has been the absence of art tradition and certain specialized sub-types of tools. However, the northern and eastern parts of India, which are rich in Lower Palaeolithic and Neolithic Cultural types, may, if properly studied, certainly yield upper palaeolithic of a classical type. At any rate, it is wrong to assume that upper palaeolithic culture is absent from India.

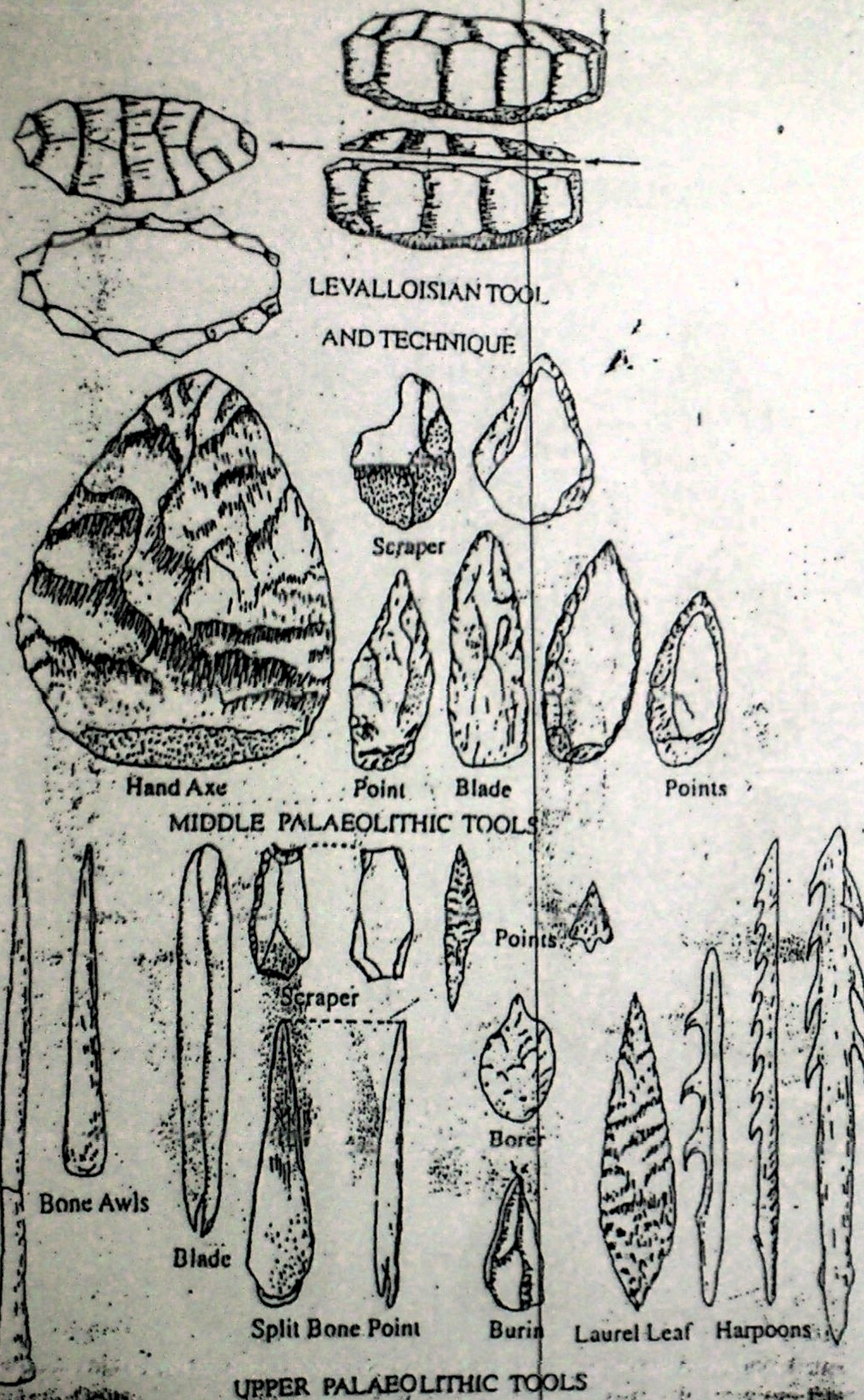
## MESOLITHIC CULTURE IN INDIA

Towards the end of the Last Ice Age, those who had adapted themselves to the glacial and pluvial environment, found themselves at the receiving end. What is, to us, a normal climate, must have come as divine wrath. New flora and fauna appeared. Dense bushes and forests with unpassable undergrowth grew up. Big



BEAN valley  
B.P.





games gave place to smaller, faster games which could not be easily requiring a tool kit with lighter and projectible tools.

Everywhere, the onset of Mesolithic is characterized by the appearance of very small and thin tools called microliths. These were about 2-6 cm. in length and 0.5-1.5 cm. in breadth. Though generically similar to Upper Palaeoliths, the effort was made to shed off mass. These tools were mostly fitted into wood, bone or jaws of large animals and used as ~~weapons~~.

On the basis of shape, two major types of microliths are recognized - geometric and non-geometric. The former are triangular, trapezoidal, and lunate or crescent in shape. Main tools of this period are :

1. ✓ Retouched blade
2. ✓ Obliquely blunted blade or pen knife
3. ✓ Flake-points
4. ✓ Triangle-scalene and isocelles types
5. ✓ Trapeze
6. ✓ Crescent or Lunate
7. ✓ Microburin

It is believed that ~~microliths~~ denote an advanced stage i.e., a site yielding predominantly geometric tools is younger than the one without it.

The major sites which have yielded Mesolithic tools are as follows.

Bagor (Rajasthan) - It is situated on the banks of river Kothari near Bhilwara town. It is a ~~small~~ dune with deposits of about 150 cm. It is divided into three phases, of which Phase I corresponds to Mesolithic. The site was discovered by V.N. Mishra in 1967.

The site is rich in cultural materials, probably richest in the world as several thousand tools and a great profusion of animal remains have been excavated. The ~~habitational floor was stone paved~~. The microliths are finest ones in India, majority of them being 1.5-2 cm. in length, including a good number of geometric microliths.

The animals identified from the bone remains are cattle, buffalo, goat, sheep, pig, Chital, Sambhar hare, fox etc. and also aquatic fauna like tortoise and fish.

One skeleton in extended form with head towards the west was also found from phase I.

Tilwara - This is another site in Rajasthan forming the western limit of Mesolithic in India, the tools found from the site are trapeze, lunate point, fl. blades etc. Fire hearths, Charred bones and other habitational remains show early Mesolithic site.

Dandhna (Gujarat) - On the Western banks of Sabarmati in Mehsana district of Gujarat.



Gujarat, there are scores of sites consisting of consolidated sand dunes. One of these, Langhnaj, has been studied in detail. The tool types include lunates, trapezes, scrapers, borers, blunted-backed knife, burins etc. ~~with marks of striation has been found~~. Both Sankalia and Subbarao have studied the site. The animal remains are identified as cattle, buffalo, wild boar, deer and Nilgai.

The most interesting remain are human skeletons, 14 in number. The legs were folded backwards and tied before burial. Some skulls have deep cuts across the forehead. It was earlier suggested that they might have been cannibals. Later it was argued that the cracks may have been caused due to weathering of osseous tissues. It has been dated as being contemporary of Harappan Civilization by Radio-Carbon method.

**Sarai Nahar Rai (U.P.)** - Situated on the banks of a horse-shoe lake about 15 kms. from Pratapgarh near Allahabad, this site is rich in Mesolithic culture materials. It was studied in detail by G.R. Sharma.

The habitation at this site covered an area of about 2,000 sq. meters. A living floor of about 5 x 4 meters with post holes in four corners was excavated. The floor is littered with burnt clay lumps and charred animal bones. Many hearths were also found.

Thirteen skeletons have been excavated. They are buried in an extended position, with one arm placed diagonally across the abdomen while the other lying along the body, the head was invariably towards the West. It is clear that they had a well-developed burial tradition. One of the skeletons has a microlith pierced into the rib, pointing towards the possibility of feud or warfare. Microliths and a particular type of shell was also buried with them. The tool types are mostly points, lunates, trapezes, bladed arrow-heads, burins etc.

**Bhimbetka (West Bengal)** - A site on the river Damodar near Durgapur railway station, Birbhanpur was discovered by B.B. Lal in 1957. The site is considered non-geometric because trapeze and triangles are not found. Borers, points, scrapers and burins made on milky quartz are found. The tools are mostly found from the surface.

**Bhimbetka (M.P.)** - A site with about 700 caves in Raisen district of M.P., and studied by V.N. Mishra (1976). Bhimbetka is famous because it was occupied by people throughout in prehistoric times. One of its caves yields rich geometric tools. Unlike other sites in Central and South India, a change of raw material to chalcedony, is first noticed during Mesolithic period.

**Chalchuk (Tamil Nadu)** - A series of fossilized red sand dunes are situated along Tambraparni river in Tinnevely district. These sand dunes are locally called Teris. These are not lateritic but as red as laterite and are rich in microliths, made on chert and fossil wood. Its most unique feature is the presence of pressure flaked bifacial points, not found anywhere else in India. Both Sivappan

and Zeuner have studied the site in detail. The tool industry shows most primitive features, typologically. Backed blades, scrapers, points of many types, burins, lunates, triangles etc. are main tools of this region.

**Sangankallu (Karnataka)** - Both Foote and Subbarao have studied the site. The tools are made mostly on quartz. The waste material from the site indicates that the tools were made at the site itself. Parallel-sided flakes, cores, points, scrapers and lunates are the major tools. In addition to these there are hundreds of smaller sites yielding microliths scattered all over India, such as Shorapur Doab in Karnataka, Nagarjun Konda in Andhra Pradesh, Salsette island in Bombay, Adamgarh in Madhya Pradesh, Kuchai in Orissa etc.

**Mesolithic Culture** - It is apparent, from a study of the sites in India, that Mesolithic culture was fairly widespread in India. At most sites, the evolution of Mesolithic from an early stage of Palaeolithic can be techno-typologically demonstrated. Therefore, the hypothesis that Mesolithic culture was brought to India by a new wave of people from the West is certainly untenable.

It is also clear that regional differences was owing to adaptation to different kinds of environments. Bagor and Tilwara form one group, Langhnaj, Sarai Nahar Rai and Bhimbetka another group. South India appears to have an entirely independent development. Fishing, small game hunting, honey and wild seed collection was the basis of economy. Partial sedentism as well as feud and warfare seem to have become a part of culture. Thus a stage had been set for further developments in settled life and productive economy during the succeeding Neolithic period.

## NEOLITHIC CULTURE IN INDIA

The Neolithic, though literally meaning New Stone Age, is not important for its lithic industries at all. This was the period when man finally altered his relationship with Nature - from being dependent on nature for survival to its exploiters. He started growing food, domesticated cattle, gave up nomadic life for a sedentary one. This period also saw the invention of pottery, weaving, permanent house construction, growing complexity in social structure, specialization and division of labour etc. Truly, it was a period of revolution.

The characteristic tool of this period is polished and ground tools, collectively called pelt. These were made on Dolerite or sand-stone. The common tool types are axe, adze, chisel, wedges, hoe, pick, ringstone or flake heads. The bone and antlers also were used to make harpoon, arrowhead, scrapers, needle with eye and points. In India the Neolithic and Chalcolithic are difficult to separate, mainly because of lack of stratigraphic base. By definition, in a pure Neolithic culture metal was unknown. Use of copper begins with chalcolithic. Another problem is the contemporaneity of Neolithic on the one hand and Indus Valley civilization.

\* Neolithic Revolution - by GORDON CHILDE.



on the other. On a purely technological basis a Neolithic is characterized by the presence of:

- ✓ a. Celts
- ✓ b. Pit-dwelling
- ✓ c. Pottery

Whenever or where ever either or all of these occur at any site it is taken to be Neolithic. Pit-dwelling as the term denotes, was the first relatively permanent residential pattern where people used natural pits to live. They lived on the floor and covered the mouth of the pits with thatched covering resting on post-holes.

The remains of ~~pottery~~ is another identifying evidence. The potsherds show a gradual evolution from hand-made unfired variety to wheel-made and fired one.

We shall now visit the major Neolithic sites. For Neolithic India has been divided into three zones.

- ✓ a. Northern India
- ✓ b. Eastern India
- ✓ c. South-Central India

a. Northern India - The most important Neolithic site in North India is Burzahom. This, along with Gufkral and Martand gives us a fairly good idea of the Neolithic life. Situated in Jhelum Valley near Srinagar the sites have been dated to around 2375 B.C. by Radio-Carbon Method. It appears that people in Kashmir were still in Neolithic stage when the Harappan civilization was at its peak in the South-West.

**Dwellings** - Sixteen dwelling pits have been found so far. The largest one measures 2.74 meters at the top, 4.57 meters at the base and is about 4 meters deep. People lived and cooked on the floors of these pits. Steps were cut along one wall to facilitate entry. The presence of kitchen within the pit is shown by ash and charcoal. The kitchen was also the cause of burning of roof. Forty five post holes were found around one of the pits, suggesting repeated repairs.

**Tools and Pottery** - As already stated, these characteristic feature of Neolithic are the ~~ground and polished tools~~. The tools collected from the site are axes, adzes, chisels, hoe, pick, mace-heads etc. The main pots were bowl, vase, and stem. These were hand-made, with coarse surface. A 26" tall vessel is the best example of their craft.

**Burial** - They buried their dead in pits which were generally oval or circular in shape. The pits were wide at the base and narrow at the top. Their most important pets, dog and ibex, were buried with them.

b. Eastern Indian Neolithic - Assam and adjoining states provide the site of Neolithic. The most important site is Deojali Hading in North Cachhar. In 1951 C. Sharma made a detailed study of Neolithic in Assam.

**Tools** - Sharma divided the celt into three groups. (a) Edge ground tools - these were ground only on cutting edge, rest of the surface marked by flake scars. (b). Pecked and ground tools - pecking was employed to produce the form and grinding for preparing the cutting edge. (c). Fully ground tools - ~~a majority of tools are fully ground~~. The main tools that were found are tanged celts, splayed axe, adze, chisel and scraper. In addition, grinding stones having smooth depressions caused by grinding axes, adzes etc. and Querns and Mullers were also found.

**Pottery** - Nearly 98% of the potsherd collected from Deojali Hading are cord-impressed with only a few of them well-fired. A few appear to be made on wheels.

**Dwelling** - We have no evidence as yet from Deojali Hading about their residence pattern. Neither pits nor remains of huts have been found.

**Chirand (Bihar)** - At the Confluence of river Ghaghra and Ganga near Chhapra in Bihar a fairly well developed Neolithic site has been excavated. Unlike Deojali Hading and Burzahom, Chirand is not a hill site but lies in alluvial plains.

**Tools** - The most striking feature of Chirand is its large percentage of tools made on bone and antler. These include picks, chisels, needle, awl, drill and scrapers. They did not have the raw materials for larger stone tools, although many ground celts are found. Their knowledge of cultivation is evident by presence of charred grains of paddy-husk, wheat and moong.

**Dwelling** - The Neolithic inhabitants of Chirand lived in circular huts of about 2m in diameter, set close to one another. The walls were made of bamboo screens plastered over with mud on both sides. The floors were paved and the roofs were probably conical and thatched.

**Pottery** - The pots and pans show a great regularity of form and fine surface finish. Pots with wide or narrow mouth, bowls with stand, lipped bowls etc. are the main types. The pots are decorated with post-firing other paint and applique designs.

A peculiarity of Chirand is the presence of terracotta figurines of birds, bulls and snake. Bangles of terracotta and bones are also found. The presence of ~~pottery~~ ~~figurine~~ ~~unique in India~~.

**Koldihwa (U.P.)** - Situated near Allahabad, this site become famous because it yielded the oldest remains of rice.

**Tool** - Ground stone axes and microlithic blades are found here.

**Dwelling** - They also lived in circular huts, but these are marked by post-holes. Cattle pen with hoof-impressions on the floor are also found, suggesting domestication of animals.

**Pottery** - The potsherds suggest that pots were crude, hand-made and ill fired.

**Kuchal (Orissa)** - Near river Burhabalang in Mayurbhanj district, this site yielded



some pot sherds of red colour. The tools include axes, hoes and chisels. Mace-heads and grinding stone are also found, but these are much smaller in size.

c. South Indian Neolithic - As in earlier cultural stages, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka are also the most important, as far as Neolithic sites are concerned. Tekkalkota, Brahmagiri, Sangankallu and Hallur in Karnataka; Piklihal and Nagarjunkonda in Andhra Pradesh and Paiyampalli in Tamil Nadu are the best known sites. We shall discuss the best-studied sites in detail.

Bellary - Situated in the Bellary district of Karnataka, the site is a granite hill, and dated about 1600 B.C. by radio carbon method.

Dwelling - Nineteen huts were found at this site. These show variation in structure. Although all of them are circular in shape, some are free standing with wall of wattle and daub, while others are supported by natural circle of boulders. The diameter of the huts was about 3 to 5 meters. The floor was paved and coated with lime.

Burial - Mostly the dead were buried beneath the floor of the huts. Burial within an urn was also found. Funerary vessels are also found at the feet of skeletons.

Pottery - The pottery is predominantly hand-made, but well fired and coloured. Grey, Brown and Buff colours are common. Pots with spouts - as in tea kettle - were also made. They were usually decorated by painting after firing, incision, rustication and perforation.

Tool - Axes, adzes, pointed tools, chisels, Querns, Mace-head or ring-stones are the major tool types. The axes were varied in length and thickness, thus of many sub types.

Art - These Neolithic hill dwellers were the earliest artists. They painted, bruised and etched the rocks. Various rock surfaces which are not exposed to sun or rain have been painted in red ochre. The subject for bruising or etching on rocks are bull, deer, sheep, goat, horse and stylized human beings.

Other sites in South India also exhibit similar traits. It is evident that South India did have a flourishing Neolithic culture.

Neolithic Culture - A survey of Neolithic sites in India shows that whole of India was inhabited by people during this age. The dwelling structures - whether pit dwelling or over ground huts make it clear that nomadic life had ended and people had started living at one place on a permanent basis. The tool-kit bears testimony to the fact that cutting of trees and clearing of forest for cultivation had begun. The querns were used for grinding the grains. The pots were used for storing the grains. The leisure resulted in people taking to art forms.

We may conclude that this was the beginning of a life based on cultivation which was later to develop into larger agricultural communities when first copper and then bronze became a part of culture.

## PROTO HISTORIC CULTURE OF INDIA

### INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION (IVC)

Even as rest of India was going through stone age, an advanced civilization sprang up on its western frontier. This area was the site of first settled agricultural villages which are primarily distinguished by different types of painted pottery, and which provided the base for the evolution of civilization in the valley of the Indus and its major tributaries - the rivers of Punjab. It is also called Harappan Civilization.

Time Period - Earlier time period suggested for this civilization was 3250 BC to 2750 BC. Now it is generally accepted that Indus Valley civilization flourished between 2500-1500 BC with its peak period ranging between 2250-1750 BC.

Extent - The IVC was very extensive geographically. From Alamgirpur (30 kms. Northeast of Delhi) in the east to Sutkagen Dor on Pakistan-Iran border in the South-West, and from river Chenab in the North to Lothal in Gujrat in the South, the area covered was about 1.5 million square kilometers. It was bigger than Pakistan today and much bigger than its contemporary civilizations in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

Major Cities - Over 250 sites of IVC have been excavated so far of which six were major cities. These are :

- (a) Harappa on the left bank of river Ravi, in Pakistan
- (b) Mohan-jo-Daro on the right bank of river Indus and about 725 kms. from Harappa, in Pakistan.
- (c) Kalibangan on the bank of now dried up river Saraswati in Ganganagar district (Rajasthan) in India.
- (d) Chanhudaro, about 125 kms. south of Mohan-jo-Daro on the left bank of Indus in Pakistan.
- (e) Kot Diji opposite Mohan-jo-Daro, on the left bank of Indus in Pakistan.
- (f) Lothal, in Sabarmati delta near Gulf of Cambay in Gujrat in India.

Town Planning - All the major cities of IVC, though situated hundreds of kilometers from each other exhibit remarkable similarities in town planning. Each city had a well fortified citadel which may have been used for both religious and governmental purposes. It was an oblong artificial platform, about 35'-50' in height, 400 meters in length and 200 mtrs. in width.

Below the citadel was the town proper, of about 2-3 sq. Km. in area. The town was laid out on a grid plan, with about 10 meter wide roads, and houses set on both sides in a row. The roads were straight and crossed each other at right angles. This grid plan is unique, because it was not found in Egypt or Mesopotamia. The streets and buildings were provided with brick-lined drains, which met sewers in the main streets and ultimately was drained out of the town, pointing to a most



impressive drainage system, far superior to many 'modern' towns.

There were no stone buildings, burnt brick was the only building material. It is remarkable that quality and size of the bricks was same throughout the IVC, suggesting some central control over standards. The houses varied in size but the plan was the same, the rooms opened into central square courtyards. Many houses were two storeyed. Each house had a bathroom. A row of two roomed cottages of about 20' x 12' have also been discovered at both Mohan-jo-Daro and Harappa, and was probably meant for working class people.

Many large buildings have also been excavated. Of these, The Great Bath in the citadel area at Mohanjodaro, measures 39 x 23 x 8 feet. This brick structure, which had steps leading to the bottom in north and south, may have been used for main ritual.

To the west of the Great Bath, there was a large granary of 150 x 75 feet. The largest building at Mohan-jo-daro measures 230 x 80 feet, and may have been a palace. The granary of Harappa was arranged in two rows of six, each measuring 50 x 20 feet. These granaries were filled by grain tax, and, in the absence of money, represented wealth.

The Dockyard - In Lothal, Gujrat, a large size harbour has been discovered. A rectangular basin of about 214 x 36 metres was excavated, and closed by masonry walls of burnt bricks. It was supposed to be an inland dock built away from the sea to avoid silting. The perfectly vertical wall of the basin may have been built to allow the ships to come right up to the edge of the wharf. Leishnik (1968) however, claims that it was not a dock but a fresh-water tank, used for drinking water or irrigation.

Agriculture - The annual inundations of Indus and other rivers brought fertile alluvial soil and spread it on the plains. Moreover, denser vegetation in those days also caused more rainfall than today. The flood-plains were sowed after flood water receded in November and the harvest was reaped in March - April. No ploughshare or hoe has been found, but furrows in the fields at Kalibangan in Rajasthan shows that the fields were ploughed.

The major crops were winter or Rabbi-crops like millets, wheat, barley, peas and sesame, the latter for edible oil. The rice cultivation is conspicuously absent except in Lothal. Banwali has yielded a good amount of barley. They were also the first to grow cotton.

It is apparent that Harappan villages produced surplus food grains to support the large number of people in towns - the rulers, the artisans, the traders and others. The huge granaries in all major cities also attest to the same.

Domestication of animals - Along with agriculture, domestication of animals was also practised. Almost all the animals found in India today had been domesticated by them. These include cattle, buffalo, goat, pig, ass, dog, cat, camel and fowl.

Elephant and Rhinoceros were also known to them. Elephant may have been tamed. The bullock and ass probably were the beasts of burden. Horse was not in regular use.

Technology - The IVC people used both stone and bronze for making tools and implements. Bronze is a mixture of copper and tin. While they could get copper from mines in Khetri in Rajasthan, tin must have been brought from Baluchistan. Their bronze contains smaller percentage of tin. In additions to images, utensils, and weapons - axe, saw, knife, spear - many ornamental jewellery are also found. It is evident that bronzesmiths must have been very busy.

Some places were centres of specialized industrial production. Chanhudaro in Sindh and Nageshwar in Gujrat were associated with stonebead necklaces. Nagwara with sea-shell items, Ganeshwar in Rajasthan with copper-bronze items. Pottery was uniformly distributed. Harppans produced cotton and wove clothes. Brick manufacture was also important aspect of their technology.

Political Organization - In absence of readable records, our knowledge of the political organization remains a matter of conjecture. That there was strong central authority is well attested by the standardization of weights and measures, similar town planning, and size and shape of bricks. It has been suggested that there was a theocratic state, like Egypt and Mesopotamia. But in the absence of temples or religious buildings of any type, except, perhaps, the Great Bath, it is quite doubtful.

Trade - The IVC people had trade relations with Mesopotamians. They lacked metal as also currency of any type. Most probably they indulged in barter trade - exchanging food grains for metal and other objects. They had solid wheels and may have used bullock carts for transport. The dockyard at Lothal suggests sea-trade also.

Craft - Though their architecture was drab and insipid, with few decorations and no paintings, they excelled in smaller things - ornaments, seals, figurines, images etc. Gold, silver, bronze, terracotta, sandstone, steatite were the raw material for these crafts. Gold was used to make beads, brooches, pendants, armlets etc though this metal is not as common as silver. Most abundant remains are that of seals. The seal engravings, particularly of animals, was very realistic.

Among the figurines, the human torso on terracotta, a male bust on steatite and a bronze statuette of a "dancing girl" are noteworthy. The girl's figure is boyish, and is naked except a necklace and a series of bangles covering her left arm with her right hand over her hips. Her posture is pert and provocative. The statuette of a bearded man is supposed to be of a priest. They also made very naturalistic models of animals, tiny monkeys and squirrels, as well as terracotta toys. They were also particularly skilled in carpentry, having devised a saw with undulating teeth to allow the dust to fall away from the cut.

Religion - The presence of numerous terracotta figurines of women with elaborate



head dress, upper part covered only by many necklaces and the lower part with small skirts have been found. It is believed that it represents *Mother Goddess*, specially as one of them shows a plant growing out of her embryo.

A seal depicts a male figure sitting in yoga posture, wearing nothing but bangles and necklaces, and buffalo horns growing out of his head. He is surrounded by a buffalo, a tiger, an elephant, and a rhinoceros with two deer sitting near his feet. His face is fiercely tigerish. This figure is known as Pasupati (the Lord of Beasts), a prototype of later Hindu God *Siva*. Proto-SHIVA

In many seals bulls have been depicted in contexts which must be religious. *Pipal* tree was also an object of reverence. These depictions point to a fertility cult, with worship of plant and animal and nature. The absence of temples and temple idols inhibits further inferences.

**Script** - Over 250 pictograph characters have been found in seals, indicating that they knew the art of writing. But despite several efforts the script is yet to be deciphered. The script has no relation with those of Egypt or Mesopotamia. It is also clear that they did not write long inscriptions, but was limited to a few words engraved on seals, pottery terracotta etc.

Fairservice (1992) and Parpola (1986) thought that this script is Proto-Dravidian while Rao (1963) thinks it is related to Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages. Recently computer has been used to decipher the script. It is concluded that it is not connected to any known script (Joshi and Parpola, 1987).

**End** - As Basham remarks, "the most striking feature of the (IVC) culture was its extreme conservatism" (1981, 16). For about a thousand years very little of their life style changed. The same house, the same town plan, the same seals and figurines, even the same size and shape of bricks. In contrast, its disappearance was sudden. Many theories have been put forward to explain it.

**Aryan invasion** - The remains of the IVC do not show that they were warriors of any standing - the weapons of offence and defence are lacking. The Aryans, whose arrival almost coincide with the end of Harappans, were horse-riding warriors. It is suggested that Aryans overthrew the great civilization and established their own culture in the same area. That the Harappans were in fear of invasion is borne out by the chaos and confusion exhibited in the last phase. When the outlying villages were conquered by the invaders, the people fled as refugees and took shelter in the cities of Harappa and Mohanjo Daro.

"At Mohanjo-Daro large rooms were divided into smaller ones, and mansions became tenements' potter's kilns were built within the city boundaries, and one even in the middle of street. The street plan was no longer maintained. Hoards of jewellery were buried. Evidently the city was over populated and law and order was less well kept." (Basham, 1981, 27).

At Harappa also, the defences of the citadel was further strengthened and one of the city gates towards the west was blocked.

But the excavations do not indicate any large scale violence, warfare or destruction which must necessarily follow when a thousand year old civilization is crushed.

A group of huddled skeletons in one of the houses at Mohenjo-Daro hardly points to a large scale warfare. If the Harappans surrendered without a fight, the civilization, even in altered form should have continued, which it does not. It disappears completely by 1600 B.C.

**Floods** - The civilization thrived on annual floods which helped the agriculture. It has been suggested that there was a sudden uplift of land (Sohni 1952, Wheeler, 1954) near the mouth of Indus in the early part of 2nd millennium B.C. which caused permanent flood in the valley, drowning the civilization. This, also, is highly conjectural.

**Desertification** - Yet another theory (Fairservice, 1967) attributes the large scale deforestation and consequent desertification to be the cause of the end of the civilization. The thriving brick industry must have required a colossal amount of firewood. More and more forest areas may also have been cleared for agriculture. There may have been a lessening in the amount of rainfall. All these may have helped the Thar desert, lurking in the eastern frontier to move further west and impede agricultural output. But this again cannot be the sole cause.

**Changes in River Course** - It is now being suggested that the centre of the civilization was not Indus and its tributaries, but Ghaggar-Hakra river (identified with river Saraswati of Vedic period) which ran parallel to Indus and was equally bigger. It is also proposed that during that period, Sutlej flowed into Ghaggar-Hakra and not Indus. Dorcel Stein has given many geo-topographical proofs of earlier course of Sutlej.

Similarly, Surajbhan (1972) suggested that Yamuna also flowed west towards Ghaggar-Hakra instead of present day East. He found evidence of western course of Yamuna, along which many sites are located, particularly Kalibangan.

There is total absence of sites along Sutlej except its upper reaches (of late Harappan stage). These are also absent along Yamuna but are present along its eastern tributaries, as also along the supposed western course of Yamuna towards Ghaggar-Hakra.

Thus there is sufficient evidence that Ghaggar-Hakra was fed by Sutlej and Yamuna. Their late deviation towards Indus and Ganges respectively dried up Ghaggar-Hakra, causing the people to migrate to upper reaches of Sutlej and tributaries of Yamuna.

**Migration** - It appears that all these factors contributed to voluntary migration. An economy already weakened by floods and desertification, and constant threat of invasion from the west may have induced these peace-loving people to migrate down south through Gujrat along west coast and on to Maharashtra and Deccans, leaving former home undefended and allowing the invaders to settle easily and without large scale violence. Even today the South Indian culture has striking



resemblance to these Harappans in many aspects.

**Vedic and Post Vedic Beginnings of Indian civilization** - The Aryans came to India not in one great wave, but in smaller groups of related tribes, involving centuries. They had tamed horses and rode fast-moving, light chariots with spoked wheels. They were pastoral nomads, practising a little agriculture, and well versed in warfare. They settled in what they called Brahmavarta, the land between Sutlej and Yamuna. They composed hymns in praise of their gods in a very advanced poetic technique, and sung them at religious ceremonies. These hymns were so sacred that they were handed down only by oral tradition through a select few and not written until well into the Christian era. A collection of earliest of these hymns, the Rig Veda, is the chief source of our knowledge of this period, vague though it may be for everything other than religious thought. History of India, in its true sense, began with Rigveda. The early vedic period is supposed to last between 1600 B.C. - 1000 B.C.

The early Aryans took possession of the Saptasindhava (land of seven rivers) - Indus and its major tributaries. In the process, they came into conflict with Harappans and other indigenous people. There are many references in the Rigveda of how Indra, their war god, destroyed the enemies and fortresses. They also fought great inter-tribal wars among themselves, to establish their hegemony. One of the earliest such wars, between the clan of Bharat and a confederacy of ten kings was won by Bharat and India got the name of Bharatvarsha after him. But inspite of this rivalry among themselves, there was a sense of solidarity against a common enemy the Dasas or Dasyus - who are described as dark, bull-lipped, snub-nosed worshippers of phallus, in whose destruction Aryan took particular delight.

**Economy** - Though Rig Vedic Aryans practised a little agriculture, they were basically pastoralists, cow being their main domesticated animal. In fact cow is referred to so many times, and in so many contexts, that its real importance is outlined. She was not only a source of milk and dairy products, but an object of gift, a medium of exchange, a form of wealth. Wars were also fought for the possession for cow but at this stage, she was not sacred. Beef was offered to guests. Pottery, weaving, chariot-making, copper or bronze-smithy, leather work, carpentry etc. were important crafts. At this stage, the Aryans were not city-dwellers. Land, in terms of territory, was unimportant.

**Polity** - The Rajan (king or tribal chief) ruled over his people (Jana) and not any specified territory (Janapada). It was only at the end of vedic period and post vedic periods, that the words Rajya or Rashtra (Kingdom or state) became important. However, at this stage, the king was not a despot, but had to defer to the wishes of tribal assembly called samiti. The king fought wars, protected the people and cattle, and offered sacrifices on behalf of the people. The king was assisted in administration, and religious ceremonies by a priest.

(Purohit) Two of the most important Purohit during this period were Vashishtha and Vishwamitra. The military personnel (Senani) were headed by a Commander (Senapati). There is no mention of a tax collector.

**Social life** - The society at this stage, seems to have consisted of only three classes - the warrior, the priest, and the people. It was only later, when pastoral nomadism gave way to settled agriculture, and territorial kingdoms were established, did the fourth class come into being and the much publicised Varna order of four-fold class division was established. In the Rig-Vedic period, the society was still tribal and basically egalitarian. Kinship was the basis of social organization. The patriarchal family formed the nucleus. The family was a joint one. The patriarchy attached great importance to the birth of a son-so much so that even a childless widow was allowed to cohabit with her brother-in-law until she got a son. The status of woman was far superior to that obtaining now. Institution of marriage was established though many instances of extra marital affairs by highly placed women are seen.

**Religion** - The anthropomorphisation of natural forces, and their worship as gods or Deva was at the root of Aryan religion. The supreme god was Indra, the God of War and God of Rains. Agni (God of fire), Surya (the Sun), Maruti (the God of winds and storms) and Prithvi (the Goddess earth) and also Varna, Mitra, Aditi, Usha etc., were the other gods and goddesses.

Prayers to these gods by signing hymns in their praise and offering sacrifices were at the centre of rituals of Aryans. No temple were built nor any idols made. Brahmins were required for the sacrifices, though during Rig Vedic period, lesser sacrifices could be offered by the head of the household directly. The main purpose of these sacrifices seems to be the boon for children, cattle, wealth etc. and not for spiritual advancement.

**Later Vedic Phase** - The period between the end of Rig vedic phase and the advent of Buddhism and Jainism (i.e. 1000 B.C. - 600 B.C.) saw the expansion of Aryans beyond the Yamuna, and the present day U.P., Bihar, Bengal and northern Madhya Pradesh were occupied. The Ganga valley had been a land of dense and luxuriant forests which were destroyed by burning. From the beginning of later Vedic phase people started migrating eastwards. By its end, Bihar and U.P. were the land of mighty kingdoms. The three other Vedas the Sam Veda, Yajurveda and Atharva Veda were compiled during this period, as also Brahmanas and Upanishads. The archaeology also helps us considerably, for painted grey ware (PGW) were made during this period.

**Economy** - Two major technological changes occurred during this period-iron smelting and settled agriculture. The advantage of agriculture over pastoralism is outlined by the introduction of a custom where the kings and princes first ceremonially ploughed the fields at the beginning of season. In addition to barley,



and rice, wheat became the chief crop. Indeed, rice became one of sacred cereals to be offered at rituals. Iron-smelting and iron works assumed greater importance, though copper and bronze continued to be used. Weaving, carpentry, pottery, leather-works saw further and rapid developments. It is significant that ploughshares were not made on iron. Consequently, agricultural output could not have been substantial. No urbanization was possible.

**Polity** : The power of the king increased considerably during this period, while assemblies declined in importance. Tribal identity was merged with territoriality, each territory known by the ruling tribe. The chief priest, who was also the chief advisor to the king, commander of army, the heir apparent or yuvraj and few other influential persons were the high functionaries of the state.

The comparatively poor economy with no worthwhile surplus precluded the existence of standing army. The king had to depend upon tribal units at the time of war for army. Still, a steady income through taxation in contrast to earlier system of voluntary tributes and offerings allowed him to increase his entourage.

A new class of officers, or courtiers, called Rajnis (Jewels) came into being who may have been in charge of different portfolios.

The kingship became fully hereditary. A sort of class alliance between Brahmin and Kshatriyas developed. Both praised and promoted each other, and enjoyed full power and prestige at the expense of Vaishyas and Shudras.

At least four big kingdoms came into being.

- Kuru-Panchal - between Ganga and Yamuna with capital at Hastinapur, north of Meerut, and related to the epic Mahabharat.
- Kosala - In the Ganga-Gomati doab with capital at Ayodhya, and related to the epic Ramayana.
- Kashi - East of Kosala, up to river Saryu, comprising present day Eastern U.P.
- Videha - The north Bihar, the Mithila, ruled by Janak, father-in-law of Lord Rama.

**Social organization** - The four fold varna order had crystallized during this period. Brahmin's superiority in social and religious life was established. Their power had grown so much that they presumed to keep a check over the kings also. Vaishyas formed the majority and were engaged in agriculture and trade and paid taxes.

The marriage rules were formalized, Gotra endogamy was prohibited. Hypergamy was allowed but hypogamy was looked down upon. The status of women generally declined as compared to the Rig-vedic period. Their participation in public gathering was discouraged. Earliest reference of Sati is found in this period, though the practice did not become universal, as widow-remarriage was still allowed.

**Religion** - During later vedic period the cult of yajna and sacrifice became more

elaborate and complicated. Many new yajnas were conceived, in keeping with the increasing powers of the kings. Cattle were slaughtered in large numbers. The main gods of Rig-Veda, Indra and Agni, were relegated to background while Vishnu, Prajapati, and Rudra (the three triumvirate of later Hinduism) came to the forefront. The sacrifices had to be made as per fixed formulae and uttered words, the mantras, were supposed to have magical powers. Rajasurya (royal consecration) and Ashwamedha (horse sacrifice) yajnas are mentioned as resorted to by kings to increase their powers and prestige, each completed at enormous cost.

Towards the end of this period, however, voices began to be raised against the cult of sacrifices. Instead of blindly following the sacrificial ritual, and biddings of the Brahmins, a spirit of enquiry, a quest of the ultimate reality was encouraged. The idea of Atma (self) and its relationship with Brahma (supreme God) was said to be the proper channel of enquiry. Asceticism gained prominence.

In spite of these developments, there is no evidence that coined money and writing were in vogue, though both were fully developed by the Mauryan periods, a couple of centuries later. These may have developed during this interim period. As for vedic period Basham declares.

"Culturally the period of the later Vedic literature saw Indian life and thought take the direction, which it has followed ever since. The end of this age, with its kings growing in power, its priests arrogating to themselves ever greater privileges, and its religious outlook rapidly changing, marks the beginning of the great period of India's culture in which the pattern of her society, religion, literature and art gradually assumed something of its present shape." (Basham, 1981, 44).

## CONTRIBUTION OF TRIBAL CULTURE

The tribal cultures of India contribute enormously to the evolution of Pan-Indian Culture and civilization. Today, chiefly due to political reasons, tribal culture and non-tribal culture are viewed in two water-tight compartments. Some scholars also intentionally depict the tribal cultures as the indigenous culture of India, and that of the non-tribals, as alien culture. As a result, in almost all the tribal areas, some form of agitation or ethno-political movement against the non-tribals is found.

Historically, it is believed that the Aryans entered into India during the Vedic period it is also interpreted that they not only conquered the people but also invaded the culture of the Proto-Dravidians. According to one school of thought, the contemporary tribal population of India and many of the Scheduled castes, as well, are the descendants of the earliest while Proto-Dravidians. It is further said that with the spread of Aryanization in India, the non-Aryans (Proto-Dravidians) either succumbed to the Aryan influence or relegated to the hilly and forested areas of eastern and peninsular India. South of the Vindhya.



The above historical interpretation of isolating the tribal and non-tribal population has been causing a lot of problems in India today. Some tribal groups (especially elite among them) claim to be autochthones the aboriginal inhabitants, and thereby, claim absolute economic and political right over the land. The question arises that if the tribals alone are the indigenous population of India, then where do the non-tribals belong to?

As a matter of fact if we examine the elements of Indian culture and civilization minutely the answer of any such problem become very easy and apparent.

The Indian culture and civilization is a product of amalgamation of Aryan and tribal traditions. It is neither exclusively Aryan, nor tribal. It is true that during the early Vedic period the Aryans not only invaded the people but their culture as well. It is reflected in a number of instances. For example, the non-Aryans revered serpents. In the early Vedas we find hatred of Aryans against serpents. It was to the extent that some Aryan kings organised Yagnas for the extermination and complete annihilation of the species. However, in the later Vedas we find reverence and worship in favour of snakes. It clearly shows that obscure magico-religious cults of the non-Aryans were earlier rejected and digested by the Aryans. But soon the interaction among them resulted into burrowing of each other's cultural traits. Consequently the non-Aryan traditions which were earlier hated by the Aryans were later, reverted and incorporated in their own traditions. The Brahminal Hinduism is thus a product of Aryan and non-Aryan (Tribal) traditions.

The above hypothesis is supported by yet another example of a Pan-Indian Hindu Pantheon i.e., Lord Shiva. Lord Shiva is worshipped throughout the length and breadth of the country from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Gujrat to Assam. Shiva is a non-Aryan God is beyond any doubt. There is no mention of him in Rig Veda. On the contrary, we find evidences of Proto-type of Shiva in the Indus Valley Civilization. And above all there is no tribal group in India worth the name which does not revere and worship Lord Shiva in one form or another with one name or another. The concept of Mahadeva among all the central Indian tribes is a testimony of the above hypothesis.

Thus, if we examine many other elements of ancient Indian civilization and culture we find similar conclusions that the contemporary Brahminal Hinduism is the product of Aryan and non-Aryan, i.e. tribal traditions. It safely leads to the conclusion that the tribal cultures have enormously contributed to the evolution of Indian culture and civilization.

The above statement is further supported by the concept of Tribe-Caste Continuum as enunciated by F.G. Bailey in his study of the Khondmal of Orissa.

According to him a tribe and a caste are two poles (ends) of the same scale. It is only due to culture change because of several factors that either a tribe gradually becomes a caste or it remains a tribe.

## Chapter 3

### DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF INDIA

Homo sapiens did not evolve in Indian sub-continent. Therefore the people in India came from outside. Indian history is replete with instances that different waves of people came to India at different time periods.

The discovery of prehistoric tools in India suggests that Man has been living here since earliest palaeolithic period, though lack of fossil evidence makes it difficult to ascertain their physical attributes. The uncertainty persists even in the case of Indus valley civilization. But it is certain that they were not the first group to enter India. It is only after the arrival of Aryans and beginning of historical phase, that we are better informed of the people, their races, religion etc. who came in successive waves. The Khyber pass in North West Himalayas has provided gateway to India in the past. So did the Myanmar border in the North-East. In comparatively recent times the sea has also provided entry.

The immigration of people from different ethnic backgrounds, their settlement in various parts of India and later movements within the country along river valley routes has resulted in continual process of redistribution of population and ethnic intermixing. As new waves of immigrants came, usually with better technology, the earlier groups were pushed out of river basins and valleys and pressed into inaccessible hilly tracts unsuitable for cultivation on large scale. It is in these, comparatively isolated areas that the earliest racial groups have survived till today. These groups are racially 'pure' and culturally 'primitive' and are known as tribes.

The people of the rest of India underwent much intermixture both racially and culturally and present a hybrid population. These exhibit a bewildering variety of race, caste, religion, language, art, customs etc., whose separate origins cannot be found out now.

#### RACIAL ELEMENTS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

On the basis of stature and build of body, colour of skin, form of head, face, nose tips, forehead, and colour and form of eyes and hair as well as blood groups, the people of India have been divided into many racial groups.

Many scholars have attempted a racial classification of Indian population. Of them Guha's classification is most accepted who proposed a six group classification (Guha, 1935, Racial elements in Indian population). These are,



1. Negritos
2. Proto-Australoids
3. Mongoloids
  - (i) Palaeo-Mongoloids
    - (a) Long-headed type
    - (b) Broad-headed type
  - (ii) Tibbeto-Mongoloids
4. Mediterraneans
  - (i) Palaeo-Mediterraneans
  - (ii) Mediterraneans
  - (iii) Oriental sub type of Mediterraneans
5. Western Brachycephals
  - (i) Alpinoids
  - (ii) Dinarics
  - (iii) Armenoids
6. Nordics

Of these, the first three are mainly indentified as tribal groups. The first two Negrito and Australoid-belong to the Negroid Great Race, while the last three to Caucasoid Great Race, or Eurasian Race.

(1) The Negrito are characterized by short-stature (almost dwarfish) slightly protruding jaws, woolly hair, bulbous forehead, broad and flat nose. They belong to one of the oldest racial stocks in the world and, consequently supposed to be the earliest inhabitants of India. However, their limited distribution makes it doubtful. At present, they are only represented by *Kadar* and *Puliyans* of South India and the tribes of Andaman Islands.

(2) The Proto-Australoids are physically different from the Negrito mainly by the absence of woolly hair. They constitute the tribals living in Central and South India, and also some lower caste groups of North India. They are supposed to have arrived soon after the Negrito. Since their skeletons have been discovered from both Mohan-jo-Daro and Harappa, they are believed to be a part of Indus Valley civilization, if not actually its architects.

(3) The Mongoloids are also short-statured but easily distinguishable by their yellow colour, straight and stiff hair, scanty and late developed hair. Originating in China, this racial stock came to India via North East Himalayan passes and Myanmar (Burma). They are concentrated in the Himalayan borderland, in Ladakh, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh and North Eastern states. They are divided into two types *Palaeo-Mongoloids* and *Tibbeto-Mongoloids*. The *Palaeo-Mongoloids* are more primitive and are further differentiated into broadheaded and longheaded sub-types. They mostly belong to Assam and Indo-Myanmar border. The *Tibbeto-Mongoloids* are supposed to have come from Tibet and are inhabiting Bhutan and Sikkim.

(4) The Mediterraneans originated in West Asia and migrated in different waves

to other areas, mainly during the 4th and 3rd millennium before Christ. They practised agriculture and set up the first village culture in North West India. They are divided into three distinct groups-Palaeo-Mediterraneans, Mediterraneans and Oriental types.

The *Palaeo-Mediterraneans* were actually the first to introduce agricultural villages in N.W. India. They were broad-headed, dark-skinned, and medium-statured. They were pushed into Central and South India by later immigrants. They form the major part of the present day South Indian population. The mainstream of the Mediterranean stock which came to India a little later than the *Palaeo-Mediterraneans*, were the architects of Indus Valley civilization, alongwith proto-Australoids, and introduced bronze in India. They were later pushed into Ganges plains to the East and beyond Vindhyas to the South. They form the bulk of so called *Harijans* or Scheduled Castes of North India. The *oriental* group came much later and are restricted to Punjab, Sindh, Rajasthan and Western U.P.

(5) The Western Brachycephalics are broad headed people apart from the Mongoloids. They are divided into three types-Alpinoids, Dinarics and Armenoids. Although supposed to have come earlier than the Nordics, they may have come to India around the beginning of Christian Era. This group is supposed to have taken three routes in its movement within India.

- (a) Sindh-Kathiawar-Gujrat-Maharashtra-Karnataka
- (b) Kashmir Valley-Nepal
- (c) Ganga Valley-Bengal.

The present day Coorgs of Karnataka and Parsis of Western India are the representatives of this group.

(6) The Nordics, or Aryans, constituted the last major wave of immigrations into India. They were fair-complexioned, had well developed noses and well built bodies. They are supposed to have destroyed the Indus Valley civilization and colonized the Northern India. The history proper of India begins with their arrival. They are predominant in Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan and constitute the upper caste in North India. They came in the middle of 2nd Millennium B.C. It must be remembered, that in the last few thousands of years there has been continuous intermixture of these groups, particularly the latter three. There has been such a high degree of merger of physical characteristics, that they are indistinguishable as separate groups. The racial differences are only indicative of past origins. Just as ingredients and condiments used to prepare a dish cannot be separately indentified except by taste and flavour, similarly the various racial stocks which constitute the Indian population cannot be separated except by specific one or two characteristics. India is a vast melting pot of races and cultures. The present Indian population can be said to be typically Indian.



## LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTION IN INDIA

We have seen that India is a conglomeration of diversified ethnic groups. While a racial group is characterized by physical features, a linguistic group has social significance and plays an important role in defining regional identity mainly because each language and dialect developed in different regions of the country in comparative isolation.

The geographical pattern of linguistic distribution has been recognized after independence and has been ascribed political significance as well by reorganizing the provinces on linguistic basis. Broadly, therefore, there is no much problem in identifying the distribution of major languages. The dialects, however, are entirely a different proposition.

In early historical period, India had three main languages *Sanskrit*, *Pali* and *Prakrit* and numerous dialects. Sanskrit was the language of the court, elite group and literature, while common people spoke *pali* and *Prakrit*. Later many regional languages developed, with rich literary traditions, such as Hindi, Bengali, Punjabi, Marathi, Sindhi, Assamese and Urdu.

G.A. Grierson, who made the first linguistic survey of India, made a list of 179 languages and 544 dialects. This is not accepted now as he included many dialects under the head "language".

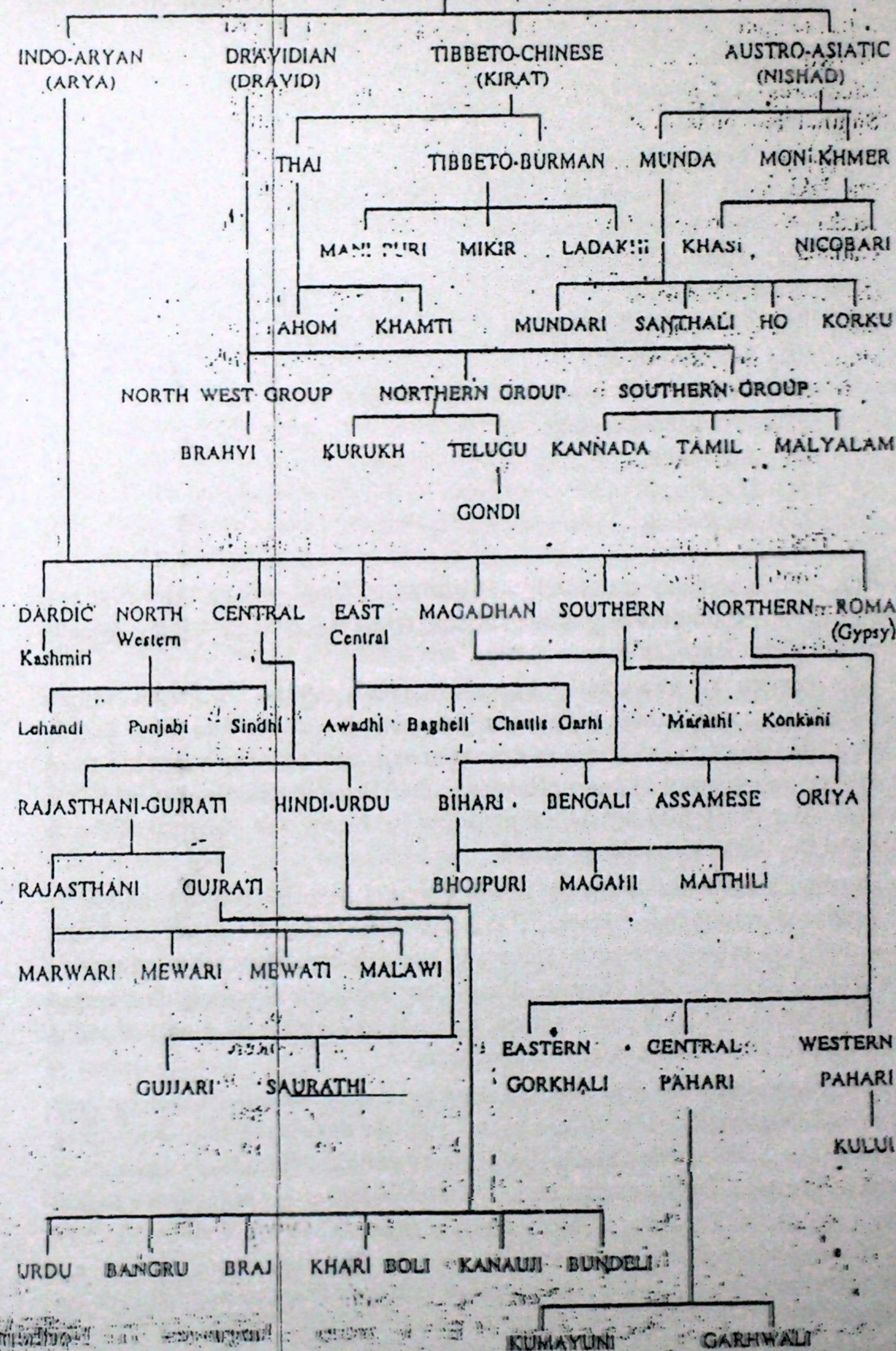
The constitution of India in its Eighth Schedule, recognizes 15 languages. These are Hindi, Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Of these, Hindi has been declared as 'official language' along with English. Eleven out of these fifteen language have their separate states, excepting Hindi - which is spoken in more than one state. In fact Sanskrit, which once occupied the highest place is now dying out with only a few thousand adherents, even though it is the repository of Indian Culture.

Even though more than 500 dialects are spoken in India, only 23 of them, including the 15 languages in the Eighth Schedule, and English, account for more than 97% of Indian population. All the language and dialects of India have been classified into four main language families, as follows -

- (a) Austro-Asiatic or Nishad
- (b) Sino-Tibetan (Tibbeto-Chinese) or Kirat
- (c) Dravidian (Dravid)
- (d) Indo-Aryan (Aryan)

These families have been divided into many subgroups and branches. The Austro-Asiatic and Tibbeto-Chinese families of languages are almost entirely tribal languages in India. The number of tribes speaking dialects of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan families is very small. However, the total number of dialects and languages constituting Aryan family is the largest - about 73% of the total.

## LANGUAGES AND MAJOR DIALECTS OF INDIA





(a) **Austro-Asiatic, or Austric or Nishad** - This family is firstly sub-divided into two branches - Munda and Mon-Khmer. The Munda branch consists of 14 tribal languages - Santhali being the largest. The Mon - Khmer branch consists of two groups which are geographically far apart - Khasi in Meghalaya and Nicobarese in Nicobar Islands. The Munda group is spoken in Chhotanagpur and Santhal Parganas of Bihar. Mayurbhanj and Khondmahal in Orissa and Betul in Maharashtra. Seven of the Austric family languages are spoken by more than one lakh people. Some of the important dialects within this family, apart from Khasi, Nicobarese and Santhali, are Mundari, Kharwari, Gondi, Savara, Kharai, Gadaba etc.

(b) **Sino - Tibbetan or Tibbeto - Chinese or Klrat** - This family is also divided into two main groups - Thai and Tibbeto - Burman. Thai group includes now almost extinct Ahom of Assam and Khampti branches. Tibbeto - Burman group is further divided into three branches-

- (i) Tibbeto - Himalayan branch.
- (ii) North Assam or Arunachal branch.
- (iii) Assam - Burmese branch

The Tibbeto - Himalayan branch again has two sections-Bhotia and Himalayan. The Bhotia section includes Tibetan, Balti, Ladakhi, Lahauli, Sherpa and Sikkim Bhutia. Ladakhi, Sikkim Bhutia and Tibetan have the largest numbers of speakers, in that order. The Himalayan section consists of Chamba, Kinnauri and Lepcha. In this section Kinnauri is the largest.

The Arunachal branch includes Miri, Abor, Aka, Dafia, Mishmi and Mishing.

The Assam-Burmese branch is also divided into several sections,

1. Bodo or Boro
2. Naga
3. Kachin.
4. Kuki chin
5. Burmese

Each of them contains several speeches. Some of them are Kachari, Garo, Tripuri, Angami, Aao, Sema, Rengma, Kabui, Singpho, Manipur, Lushai, Mikir etc. The language and dialects of this family are spoken by tribals of North-East Himalayan and sub-Himalayan regions of the North and North - West. The Tibbeto-Himalayan branch is spoken in Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh and Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh and the Assam-Burmese branch in Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur and Tripura.

(c) **Dravidian** - This family is the least diverse among all the four linguistic families in India. It is divided into three groups.

1. North - West.
2. Northern.
3. Southern

The North - West group consists of Brahui group of languages. The Northern

includes Telugu, Gondi, Kui, Kurukh and Malto, Kolami. The Southern group is represented by Tamil, Kannad, Malayalam, Kodugu, Toda, Tulu and Yerukala. This group comprises 96% of total Dravid speaking population.

Dravidian is mainly spoken in Deccan Plateau and adjoining coastal plains except Maharashtra. These languages are also coterminous with state boundaries. Telugu is spoken in Andhra Pradesh, Kannad in Karnataka, Tamil in Tamilnadu and Malayalam in Kerala. Smaller dialects constitute pockets in these states such as Gondi in Karnataka, Gondi in Andhra Pradesh and parts of Orissa, and Kurukh and Malto in tribal Bihar.

(d) **Indo-Aryan** - More than two thirds of Indian population speak one or another form of Aryan languages. Geographically also, its area is very extensive, from Assam to Gujrat and from Kashmir to Konkan Coast.

Indo Aryan languages are divided into many groups.

- (a) Dardic, (b) North-Western, (c) Central, (d) Eastern, (e) Northern, (f) Magadhan, (g) Southern, (h) Roma

Dardic group comprises of Kashmiri, Shiva, Dardi and Kohistani. Of them only Kashmiri has a following of more than two million, while others are spoken by less than 10,000 persons.

North-Western group comprises of Lehandi, Punjabi, Sindhi and Kacchi.

Central group is the largest and divided into two main branches - Rajasthani-Gujrati and Hindi-Urdu. The first branch includes Marwari, Mewari, Malawi, Mewati, Gujrati, Gujjari etc. The Hindi - Urdu branch consist of Urdu and many sub types of Hindi, such as Khari Boli, Braj, Bangru, Bundeli and Kanauji. East Central group includes Awadhi, Bagheli and Chattisgarhi.

Northern group comprises of various Pahari languages and divided into three branches - Western, Central and Eastern. The Western branch is represented by Kullui, Central by Kumayuni and Gorkhali, and Eastern by Gorkhali or Nepali.

Magadhan group is also quite large and is divided into four main branches- Bihari, Bengali, Assamese, and Oriya. The Bihari is further divided into three- Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Maithili.

Southern group included Marathi and Konkani, while Roma is the language of the Gypsies.

The distribution of Indo-Aryan languages, as we said earlier, is extensive. The Dardic group is spoken in Kashmir, while North Western group is limited to Punjab and Western border. In the central group, Hindi is the biggest language and is spoken in Bihar, Uttar pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Delhi. Urdu is closely related to Hindi and is also spoken in these areas, Marwari, Mewari, Malawi, Mewari, Gujjari and Saurathi are spoken in Rajasthan and Gujrat. Awadhi, Bagheli and Chattisgarhi are spoken in parts of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, as also Bundeli, Bangru, Khari Boli, Braj and Kanauji. Oriya, Bengali



and Assamese are the languages of Orissa, West Bengal and Asam respectively. The Bihari includes three dialects Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili. In fact Maithili, with its rich literary tradition, is a strong contender for inclusion in the Eighth Schedule, and there is a persistent demand for it. The Northern group is confined to the Himalayan regions. Kului is spoken in Himachal Pradesh. Kumayuni and Garhwali in North West Uttar Pradesh, and Gorkhali in areas bordering with Nepal, Marathi is the most important language of the Southern group, with Konkani limited to the Western Coastal area.

The distribution pattern of Indian languages shows that on the basis of numerical strength there are 12 major linguistic regions as follows :

1. Kashmiri, 2. Punjabi, 3. Hindi - Urdu, 4. Bengali, 5. Assamese, 6. Oriya, 7. Telegu, 8. Tamil, 9. Malayalam, 10. Kannad, 11. Gujrati

The tribal languages do not fit into this scheme as they are concentrated in enclaves within a major region or overlap regions of major languages. The regions identified above broadly correspond to Indian states, but the state boundaries are not the precise boundaries of languages as there is considerable inter-mixture or mingling of languages in the border areas.

As regards numerical strength, the following table will give a clear picture.

Population and Percentage of Principal Languages

1971-1981

Language	Number (In Millions)		Percentages	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
1. Hindi	208.5	264.5	38.0	42.9
2. Bengali	44.8	51.3	8.2	8.3
3. Telugu	44.8	50.6	8.2	8.2
4. Marathi	41.8	49.5	7.6	8.0
5. Tamil	37.7	43.8	6.9	7.6
6. Urdu	28.6	34.9	5.2	5.7
7. Gujrati	25.9	33.1	4.7	5.4
8. Malayalam	21.9	25.7	4.0	4.2
9. Kunnada	21.7	25.7	4.0	4.2
10 Oriya	19.9	23.0	3.6	3.7
11. Punjabi	14.1	19.6	2.6	3.2
12. Assamese	9.0	10.1	1.6	1.6
13. Sindhi	1.7	2.0	0.3	0.3
14. Kashmiri	2.5	3.2	0.5	0.5

Source : Part IV B (II) Series I - Census of India, 1981

## WEAKER SECTIONS

Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes in India have been termed weaker sections of Indian population. After independence, they were specially given priority for speedy upliftment and development in economic, educational, social and other aspects. Effort was made to bring them into mainstream of Indian life with equal footing. Together, they constitute 25% of Indian population.

**Scheduled Caste** - The Scheduled Castes are those castes within the Hindu caste system who are included in the Schedule of the Constitution. The term was first used by the British in the Government of India Act, 1935. Prior to that, these were termed Depressed Classes. By the Government of India (Scheduled Caste) order, 1936, certain castes were declared as such. The basis of indentifying these castes was, mainly, those who were subject to untouchability. The list prepared by the British was adopted after independence. Though the Schedule appears anomalous and there is a persistent demand from many caste groups for inclusion in the Schedule, there has been no revision.

Moreover, there is no uniformity in the State Lists of Scheduled Castes. Some castes, who are recognized as SC in one state, are not recognized so in other states. Also, the list recognises the same caste by different names in different states, so that the total number of scheduled castes appear to be more than they actually are.

Due to this confusion, there is no precise number of SC in the country. The Census of India, 1981, considered 1,110 Castes/sub castes as Scheduled Castes. However, taking account of the repetitions and linguistic variability, there are roughly about 450 Scheduled Castes in the country, important among them being Chamar, Dusadhi, Dom, Malla, Maltar, Balai, Adi-Dravid etc.

The Scheduled Castes suffer from many social, economic, political, religious, educational disabilities. Deprived of all human rights and force to live barely on the subsistence level, these people have been the worst victims of Hindu inequality, and socio-economic exploitations.

After independence, the Constitution of India has provided many rights and privileges to this section, mainly in the form of abolition of untouchability, granting of social equality and providing for special privileges in educational, economic and political fields. The impact of these steps is slowly manifesting itself in urban areas. But in rural areas they continue to suffer, though with variable degrees. But as 90% of scheduled castes live in rural areas, overall their lot has not improved as much as desired.

**Distribution of Scheduled Castes** - The scheduled castes are not uniformly distributed in India. In certain regions or states they are in sizeable numbers, in others their presence is negligible. Their distribution can be better understood under the following heads.

(i) **Areas of High Concentration** - It is observed that the major concentration



of scheduled castes is in the areas under intensive agriculture, where the need of agricultural labourers is maximum. Thus Indo-gangetic plain comprising of Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal and the coastal plains along Eastern and Western sea coasts show maximum concentration of scheduled castes. In terms of absolute numbers, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, and Bihar each have a scheduled caste population exceeding ten million. In terms of percentage to total population in the state, Punjab leads with 26.9%, followed closely by Himachal Pradesh (21.2%). In fact Indo-Gangetic basin contain more than half (51%) of total SC population in the country.

(ii) *Areas of Low Concentration* - The mountainous regions of Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, entire North Eastern states and hilly tracts of Vindhya, Chhotanagpur, Karnataka and Maharashtra have low concentration of scheduled castes.

*State Level Distribution* - As far as state-wise distribution of SC is concerned we can divide them into following groups on the basis of SC population as percentage of total state population.

(a) *Above 18%* - Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Tamilnadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Delhi.

(b) *12-18%* - Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tripura, Chandigarh, Pondicherry.

(c) *6-12%* - Gujrat, Jammu and Kashmir, Maharashtra & Assam.

(d) *Less than 6%* - Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Manipur, Meghalaya, Sikkim; Dadara & Nagar Haveli, Daman and Diu.

(SCHEDULED TRIBES - See Chapter. "Tribal Situation in India" for details on Scheduled Tribes.).

## INDIAN POPULATION STRUCTURE

After China, India is the second most populous country with 846 million people as per 1991 Census. 15.2% of the total population of the world lives in India, yet it constitutes only 2.42% of the total land area.

Indian population has been increasing steadily, even alarmingly, in this century. Since 1901 it has increased by 355%. After independence, during the 40 years (1951-1991) the growth has been 234%. The following table gives the details.

During the decade 1981 - 91, the population of India increased by 162.97 million. However, the growth rate came down marginally from 24.66 during 1971-81 to 23.85, thus reducing the general population by about 5 millions.

But, the decrease has not been uniform all over India. In fact Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Nagaland, Tripura, West Bengal, Lakshadweep, Pondicherry, and Daman and Diu recorded increase in growth rate. Of these, Nagaland showed highest growth rate (56.08%) while Kerala the lowest (14.32%).

TABLE - A

Growth of Population in India, 1891-1991

Year	Population	Decade growth rate (%)	Average Annual exponential growth rate (%)	Progressive growth rate over 1901
1891	23,59,12,310	--	--	--
1901	23,83,95,327	1.05	0.10	--
1911	25,20,93,390	+5.75	0.56	+5.75
1921	25,13,21,213	-0.31	-0.03	+5.42
1931	27,89,77,238	+11.00	1.04	17.02
1941	31,86,60,580	14.22	1.33	33.67
1951	36,10,88,090	13.31	1.25	51.47
1961	43,92,34,771	21.51	1.96	84.25
1971	54,81,59,652	24.80	2.20	129.94
1981	68,33,29,097	24.66	2.22	186.64
1991	84,63,02,688	23.85	2.14	255.00

Source : Census of India, 1991, Final population tables.

The population, its number and growth, is directly related to economy, or food production. Malthus (1798) in his "Essay on the Principle of Population", asserted that man could increase his subsistence only in arithmetical progression, whereas population tended to increase in geometrical progression. There are many factors which keep the population down to subsistence level by preventive checks such as wars, famines, epidemics, deferring of marriage etc.

M.T. Sadler, argued that "fecundity of human beings under similar circumstances varies inversely as their numbers increase in given space". In other words, "higher the density of population, lesser is the growth rate".

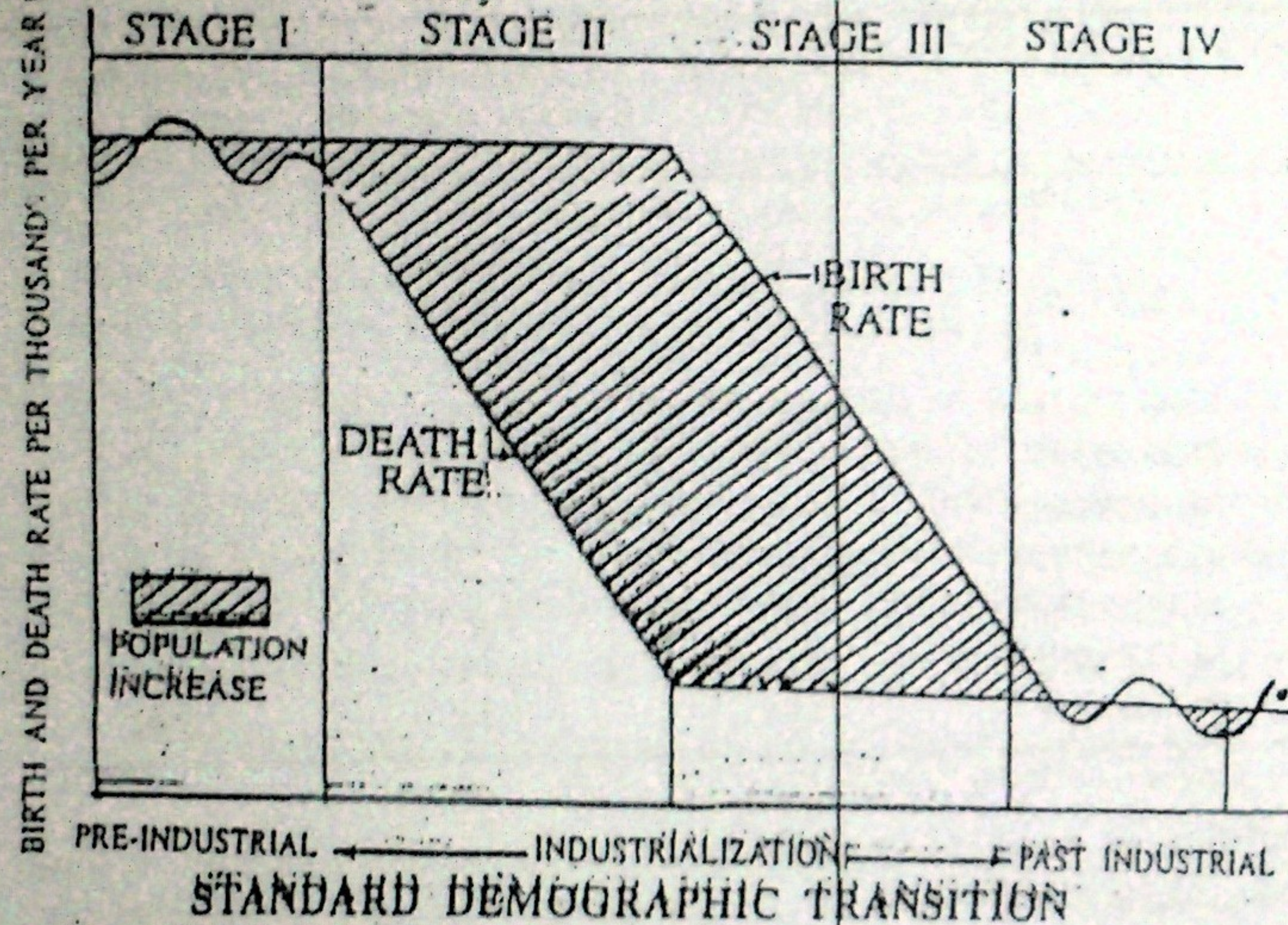
## THEORY OF DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION

Among many theories of population growth, the demographic transition theory is gaining greater popularity and acceptability. This theory explains the differences in growth rates between Industrialized and pre-Industrialised nation, and the typical "population explosion" experienced during industrialization and modernization.

As the rate of growth of population is basically a function of the difference between Birth Rate and Death rate, an analysis of these two rates is essential. The transition theory divides the entire process into four phases. In the first phase, of pre-industrialization, both birth and death rates are very high. The birth rate is more or less constant, but the death rate is fluctuating as a result of wars, famines, flood, epidemics and such other causes. The second phase begins with the beginning of industrialization. This results in the improvement in transport and communication facility as well as better medical aids. These put a check



on death rate, but the birth rate remains the same. This results in 'population explosion'. In the third phase, due to higher literacy, education and consciousness of reduced fertility for better living conditions, and availability of birth control techniques, the birth rate declines, resulting in the reduced growth rate. In the fourth stage, there is again a balance in birth and death rate. The following diagram illustrates the theory.



- Stage I - High Fertility and high mortality  
 Stage II - High fertility and declining mortality  
 Stage III - Declining fertility and low mortality  
 Stage IV - Low fertility and low mortality

It must be noted that in stage I, birth rate is more or less constant but death rate keeps fluctuating, while in stage 4, death rate remains constant but birth rate keeps fluctuating.

It is also to be noted that the alarming growth rate in developing countries of Africa and Asia is because they are now in stage II. The death rate has declined due to better medical facilities. There is virtual eradication of Malaria, Cholera, Plague etc. Average life expectancy has also gone up. There is better management of natural calamities like floods, famines etc., by faster supply of food and other relief measures etc.

But the onset of stage III is delayed due to lack of education and general awareness, persistence of age-old social practices attuned to higher fertility ("more children, greater security in old age"), shortage of effective and cheaper birth control measures and neglect of female education.

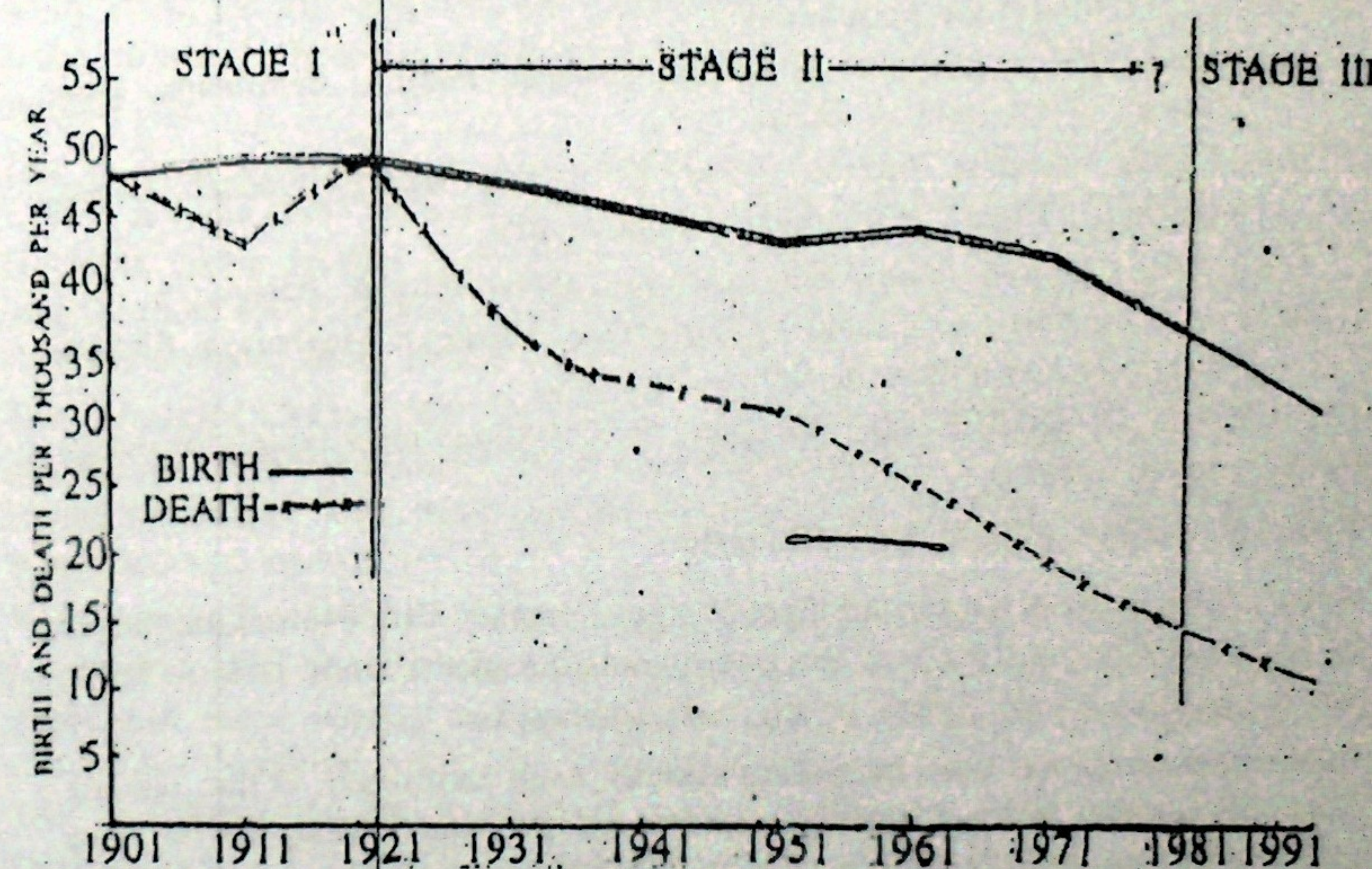
The following table gives the details of birth and death rates in India in the last one hundred years.

**TABLE - B**  
**Birth and Death rates in India (1891-1991)**

Decade	Birth rate (Per thousand)	Death rate (Per thousand)	Net Increases (Per thousand)
1891-1901	48	48	Zero
1901-1911	49	43	06
1911-1921	49	49	Zero
1921-1931	47	37	10
1931-1941	45	33	12
1941-1951	43	31	12
1951-1961	44	26	18
1961-1971	42	20	22
1971-1981	37	15	22
1981-1991	30.9	10.8	20.1

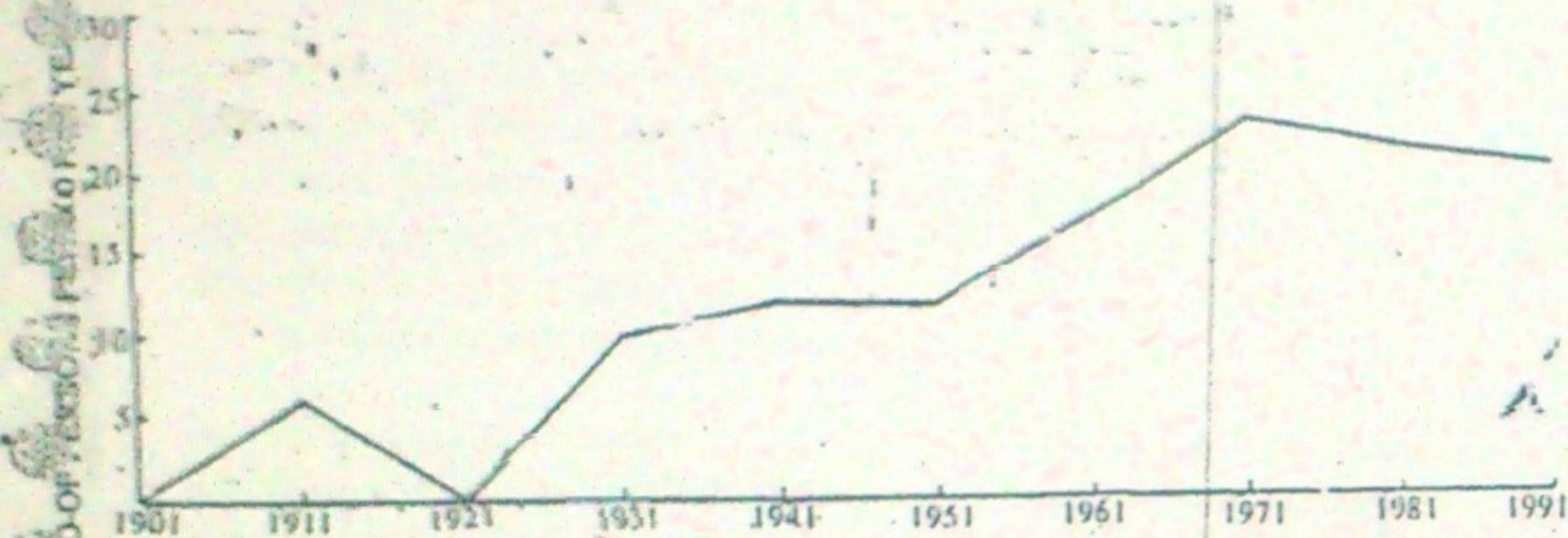
Source : Census of India 1991, Final Population Tables.

The above data gives the following graph, endorsing the trends predicted by demographic transition theory.



**GRAPH I - SHOWING BIRTH AND DEATH RATES 1901-1991**





GRAPH - II SHOWING NET INCREASE IN POPULATION PER THOUSAND PER YEAR 1901 - 1991

The Graph I shows that upto 1921, India was in Phase I, with a constant birth and a fluctuating death rate. During the two decades (1901-1921), there was an annual net increase of less than three persons per thousand. After 1921, however, the death rate fell suddenly, and is falling steadily. From 48 per thousand in 1901, it has come to 10.8 per thousand in 1991. Since this rate is more or less equal to what obtains in developed countries (8-10%), it may have reached its lowest point. The birth rate, however, is still high, but with a declining trend. In fact, it fell by 7 points during 1981-91.

A look at Graph II showing a net increase in number of persons per thousand population also reveals that, after a steady rise between 1921-71, it reached a plateau between 1971-81 and a decrease between 1981-91. Does it show a declining trend? Or is it just a small temporary fluctuation? To us, it appears that India is on the threshold of stage II, and that the population growth rate will continue to drop if concerted effort is made.

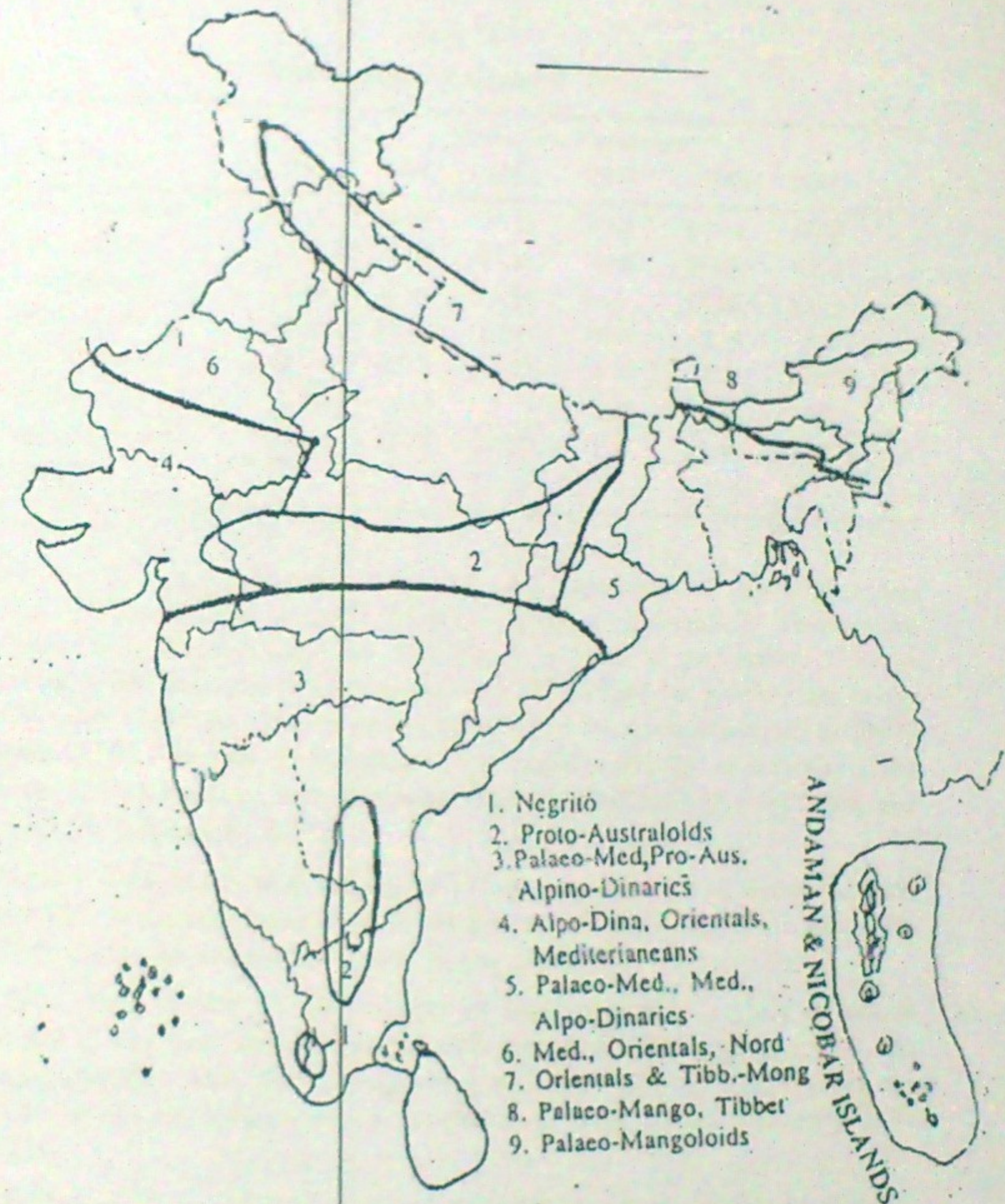
### POPULATION DENSITY

As is expected, with population increase, the population density is also increasing. This increase, however, is not uniform. The population density is defined as the number of persons per square kilometre.

At the all India level, the population density has increased to 267 in 1991 from 216 in 1981 and 77 in 1901. It is maximum in Delhi (6352) and minimum in Arunachal Pradesh (10). Indeed, there are fifteen states/UTs with higher density than national average of 267. Some of these are Chandigarh (5,632), Pondicherry (1,642), Lakshadweep (1,616), West Bengal (767), Bihar (497), Assam (286). Those with lower than national average are Maharashtra (257), Madhya Pradesh (149), Nagaland (73), and Mizoram (33).

**Sex Ratio** - Sex ratio is defined as the number of females per thousand males. Assuming that total number of male and female births is equal in any population over a period of time, the differential sex ratio indicates the favourable or

### DISTRIBUTION OF RACIAL GROUPS





unfavourable bio-social environment for the sexes, as well as emigration. In India, sex ratio has always been favourable to men, and steadily worsening for women. From 972 females per thousand male in 1901, it has declined to 927 in 1991. It was 934 in 1981.

Kerala is the only state in the country with favourable ratio for female. In fact, it has increased over 1981 position, from 1032 to 1036 in 1991. It shows that male population has gone out for employment more than anything else.

Among the states and UTs, those with lowest sex ratio are Chandigarh (790), Delhi (827) Arunachal Pradesh (859), Haryana (856), Punjab (882), Uttar Pradesh (879) etc. In the higher side are Himachal Pradesh (976), Andhra Pradesh (972), Orissa (971), Tamilnadu (974), Pondicherry (1979) etc.

Apart from Kerala the State/UTs which show an improvement over 1981 position, despite declining national trend are, Himachal Pradesh (from 973 to 976), Meghalaya (954 to 955), Mizoram (919 to 921), Nagaland (863 to 886), Punjab (879 to 882), Sikkim (835 to 878), West Bengal (911 to 917), Chandigarh (769 to 790) and Delhi (808 to 827).

This disparity in sex ratio and declining trend over the years need further examination, before it becomes alarming, as it is bound to do keeping in view continuing Indian bias for male children and improved technological aids like "amniocentesis", leading to female foeticide.

A fall in number of women may have serious sociological repercussions like changes in marriage rules, polyandary, increased violence for woman, abduction etc. On the positive side, may be dowry deaths will disappear.

**Literacy** - Ability to read and write any language with understanding qualifies a person to be a literate. As per 1991 Census, more than half of Indian population is literate, 52.21%, as against 43.67% in 1981.

In the last forty years, there has been a three-fold increase (in percentage) of literates. The growth rate in literacy has been about 2.5 times (in percent) among males, and nearly 5.5 times in case of females. Still, the percentage of female literacy (39.29) is less than male literacy (64.13%).

Table 'C'

Literacy In India 1951-1991 (in percent)

Year	Persons	Male	Female
1951	16.67	24.90	7.90
1961	24.29	40.38	15.31
1971	29.48	39.52	18.70
1981	43.67	56.50	29.85
1991	52.21	64.13	39.29

Among the States/UTs, Kerala continues its top position with 89.81% literates (93.62% male and 86.17% females). There is also not much variation among the literates in rural and urban area. In the rural area the literacy is 88.92% (92.91% male and 85.12% female) and in the Urban areas 92.25% (95.58%



males and 89.06% females). The achievement of Kerala in literacy is truly great. Bihar comes last with only 38.48% literates (52.49% males and 22.69% females), closely in company with Rajasthan with 38.55% literates (54.99% males and 22.44% females).

Out of 25 States eight have less than 50% literacy. Apart from Bihar and Rajasthan, these are Andhra Pradesh (44.09%), Arunachal Pradesh (41.09%), Uttar Pradesh (41.6%), Madhya Pradesh (44.2%), Meghalaya (49.1%) and Orissa (49.9%).

The female literacy, apart from Kerala, is better in Goa (67.09%), Himachal Pradesh (52.13%), Maharashtra (52.32%), Mizoram (78.6%), Nagaland (54.75%), Punjab (50.4%), Tamilnadu (51.33%), Delhi (66.9%) among the States. All the UTs, except Daman and Diu (26.98%) have more the 50% female literacy.

Apart from Bihar and Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh (25.31%), Madhya Pradesh (28.85%), Andhra Pradesh (32.72%), Arunachal Pradesh (29.69%) and Orissa (34.68%) have less than 35% female literacy.

**Urbanization** - There has been steady growth in urban population in this country. While the urban population increased by 8.5 times over 1901 population, the corresponding rise has been slightly less than three times in rural population. In 1991, the rural-urban percentage of population was 74.3-25.7 as against 89.2-10.8 in 1901. The growth of urban population can be seen in the following table.

Table 'D'  
Rural and Urban Population 1901-1991

Year	Population (million)		Percentage of Total Population	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1901	213	26	89.2	10.8
1911	226	26	89.7	10.3
1921	223	28	88.8	11.2
1931	246	33	88.0	12.0
1941	275	44	86.1	13.9
1951	299	62	82.7	17.3
1961	360	79	82.0	18.0
1971	439	109	80.1	19.9
1981	524	159	76.7	23.3
1991	629	218	74.3	25.7

Source : Final Population Tables, Census of India, 1991

The break-up of urban dwellers by class of towns they live in presents interesting features. Nearly two-third (65.2%) live in towns with population of more than 1,00,000 while those living in smaller towns (less than 10,000 population) is less than 3%. In 1901, both figures were equal (25%)! In Medium Towns (Population from 20,000 to 99,999) the population has not changed much (27%

in 1901, 24.2% in 1991). It is evident that villagers preferred bigger cities and metropolis more than smaller towns because they have greater employment opportunities.

Table 'E'  
Urbanisation by Class of Towns

Class of Towns	1901	Percentage Population				
		1951	1961	1971	1981	1991
1,00,000 and above	26.00	44.63	51.42	57.24	60.42	65.20
50,000 - 99,999	11.29	9.96	11.23	10.92	11.63	10.95
20,000 - 49,999	15.64	15.72	16.94	16.01	14.33	13.19
10,000 - 19,999	20.83	13.63	12.77	10.94	9.54	7.77
5,000 - 9,999	20.14	12.97	6.87	4.45	3.58	2.60
Less than 5,000	6.10	3.09	0.77	0.44	0.50	0.29
Percentage to total Population	10.84	17.29	17.97	19.91	23.34	25.72

Source : India, 1995

There are 12 metropolitan cities in India with population of one million and above - Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Pune, Nagpur, Lucknow and Jaipur, in order of population. Though Calcutta is the most populous metropolis (9.19 million) its growth rate is the lowest from 1951 base. The maximum growth rate has been witnessed by Delhi (about 400%) followed by Bangalore (2.9 million, 372%), and Jaipur (1.01 million, 334%), Bombay, second in population (8.24 million) grew by 278% and Pune (1.68 million) by 277%.

**Villages** - India has been a country of villages. At the time of independence, about 83% of its population lived in villages which has come down to 74.3% in 1981. Still, the rural-urban divide is too great.

In 1981, there were 5,57,137 villages in India excluding Assam of which 4,06,723 (73%) were smaller villages with less than 1,000 population, 94,486 villages (16.9%) were with a population between 1,000 to 2,000 while the number of bigger villages with a population of over 10,000 was only 1834 (0.32%).

Uttar Pradesh, being the most populous state, has maximum number of villages, 1,12,566 (20.2% of total no. of villages in the country) i.e. every fifth Indian village is in U.P. They are mostly smaller villages as 93% have a population of less than 2,000 person. Madhya Pradesh comes second with 71,352 village (12.8%) followed closely by Bihar with 67,546 villages (12.12%). These three states contain nearly half of the total villages in country.

All the states, except Kerala, show a standard pattern, the smaller villages are



more than the larger villages. Three fourths of the villages in every state and UTs have a population of less than 1,000 persons, while those with a population of more than 10,000 is less than 1%.

Kerala stands apart. Here the situation is just the opposite. It has only 1,214 villages of which 905 (74.2%) are large villages with above 10,000 population, while the number of smaller village with less than 1,000 population is only 7 (0.57%). In fact of the 1834 largest villages in the country, 905 (49.34%) are in Kerala alone.

Table 'F'

Distribution of villages according to population : 1981  
of Selected States/UTs

States/UTs	Less than 1,000	1,000 to 1,999	2,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 9,999	above 10,000	Total
Andhra Pradesh	14,085	6,464	5,609	1,058	163	27,379
Bihar	49,617	10,811	5,842	1,054	192	67,546
Gujarat	9,814	5,108	2,725	418	49	18,114
Haryana	3,275	1,883	1,346	221	20	6,745
Himachal Pradesh	16,348	364	92	3	-	16,807
Madhya Pradesh	61,029	8,118	2,016	155	4	71,352
Maharashtra	26,101	8,951	3,691	579	116	39,354
Orissa	40,710	4,561	1,234	47	1	46,553
Uttar Pradesh	83,235	20,834	8,148	751	52	1,12,556
Punjab	8,146	2,819	1,256	120	1	12,342
Rajasthan	26,823	5,468	2,335	321	21	34,008
West Bengal	25,319	7,538	4,383	702	-	38,024
Karnataka	18,361	5,239	2,722	401	-	27,028
Tamilnadu	5,698	4,570	4,381	1,000	-	15,831
Kerala	7	13	72	222	-	1,219
A. & N. Island	460	23	8	-	-	491
Arunachal Pradesh	3,176	63	16	2	-	3,257
Lakshadweep	1	1	4	1	-	7
Meghalaya	4,793	85	24	-	-	4,902
Mizoram	629	62	30	-	-	721
All India	4,06,723	94,486	46,892	7,202	1,834	5,57,137

Source : Census of India, 1981, Series I Part II, A. (1).

Religion - People of India profess almost all the major religions of the world plus a number of tribal religions. The major religions include Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism. There are also Parsis, who are not separately enumerated and included as "others".

Table 'G'  
Population by Religion 1961-1991

Religions	1961		1971		1981		1991	
Group	No. (Million)	% to Total	No. (Million)	% to Total	No. (Million)	% to Total	No. (Million)	% to Total
Hindus	366.5	83.5	453.3	82.7	549.7	82.6	672.6	82.41
Muslims	46.9	10.7	61.4	11.2	75.6	11.4	95.2	11.67
Christians	10.7	2.4	14.2	2.6	16.2	2.4	18.9	2.32
Sikhs	7.8	1.8	10.4	1.9	12.1	2.0	16.3	1.99
Buddhist	3.2	0.7	3.8	0.7	4.7	0.7	6.3	0.77
Jains	2.0	0.5	2.6	0.5	3.2	0.5	3.4	0.41
Others	1.6	0.4	2.2	0.4	2.8	0.4	3.5	0.43

Note - 1991 figures exclude Assam and Jammu & Kashmir. Source - Ibid

The above table shows that there is considerable variation in the growth rate of different religions. In the thirty-year period the Hindu population increased by 83.5% the Muslim population increased by 102.9% even though figures of Assam and J & K has not been included. Sikh population also increased by 108% but its share in national percentage declined slightly between 1981-1991. The percentage of Hindu population also declined marginally during the same period. The growth rate of Jains has declined very sharply in the last decade, being only 6.25%.

### PROBLEMS OF POPULATION CONTROL

In India considering a large population as a problem is a recent phenomenon. Until a few decades ago large population was supposed to be a boon. Birth of a child was gift of the God, requiring appropriate thanks giving. It was also believed that the very thought of population control was a sacrilege.

Today, population increase is a problem-a serious problem. There is a broad consensus in this regard. Steps have been taken to check the exponential growth. But in India it is not a growth, it is an explosion, putting social, economic, health, educational and development processes out of gear. There are many factors which influenced the population explosion in India.

(a) Late Awareness of the problem - Even after independence, during the fifties and early sixties, population problem was not perceived as serious. At that time language, industrialization and food scarcity occupied the mind of the leaders, but not the population growth. If talked at all it was mainly in terms of food problem. Its repercussions on larger framework was over looked. It was only in the mid-sixties, when the food scarcity went out of control and India had to depend on food imports, paying the price not just in financial, but also in political terms, that population control or Family Planning Programme seriously got underway.



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(b) **Slow Start** - Even when Family Planning Programme (FPP) was begun it was slow, lack-lustre and off target. It consisted of slogans on Radios, Newspapers and Walls, and voluntary sterilization, for which nominal incentives were provided. The slogans, in the beginning, exhorted the people not to have more than three or four children, then it became two or three. It was only much later that two child family was presented as ideal, with sufficient time-gap between births.

The initial target group, too, was misplaced. Instead of concentrating on newly married couple of 15-30 age group, the couple of over 30 were the main target. These people had already contributed to the growth and probability of further births was already low. The present day population growth is due to the couple who were ignored at that time. The sterilization programme also went away. Usually persons of well over 45 years of age came for sterilization for the incentives provided, thus bloating the departmental statistics.

(c) **Lack of Political Will** - In view of child birth having religious overtones, and fearing to ruffle religious sentiments and thus losing vote banks, politicians and political parties never really got involved in FPP. It was allowed to drift and take its own course. There was never any mass movement in favour of population control.

It was only in mid-seventies, particularly during Emergency, that FPP got seriously underway with some semblance of urgency on national scale. The bureaucratic zeal caused some excesses, however, which was taken up by the opposition parties and such a hullabaloo was made, for political games, that the FPP fizzled out. The result was that, apart from paying lip service no party or government in power is willing to be identified with FPP. Even the Department of Family Planning was rechristened as Department of Family Welfare! This single instance itself speaks volumes for our national effort. At present population control is just a departmental programme of one of the many departments under Ministry of Health and Family Welfare.

Population control ought to be the primary goal of India. Unrestricted population growth has nullified the positive achievements in other sectors of national life. It is necessary to make it a mass movement with full political consensus on this vital issue. No population control programme can succeed without active participation of woman, which, in turn, cannot succeed without woman's education. This aspect has been neglected.

Another deficiency is the lack of reward and punishment. There is no substantial incentive to those with only one or two children nor any disincentive to those who have half a dozen or more children. Our own political leaders are the worst culprit in this regard. There ought to be reservation in jobs and promotions for the former and deprivation of higher posts for the latter.

In short, family planning ought to be a **MASS MOVEMENT**.

## Chapter 4

### INDIAN POPULATION POLICY

(See also Chapter 3, sub-headings Demographic Transition and Population Control).

Population policies may be defined as legislative measures, administrative programmes and other governmental actions intended to alter or modify existing population trends in the interests of national survival and welfare. Many aspects of public policies and of social change in general have an impact upon demographic trends. Population policy embraces those aspects of public policies that are designed to counteract the unwanted demographic effects of overall policy and of other social process.

Under population policy attentions are focussed on the efforts of governments as well as individuals to maintain, increase or control the rate of the growth of a population. As far as quantitative aim of populations is concerned the policy aims to affect size and rate of change but qualitatively the genetic structure of a population is intended to alter in national interests. The abortion and sterilization are considered under qualitative change.

In India the initiative to formulate and adopt population policy was done in 1952 with the First Five Year Plan. Since then the attention is focussed mostly on reducing the widening gap between lowering death rate and persistently high birth rate. Under demographic graph firstly, the high birth rate and high death rate balances the population to optimum size. Secondly, with the development, the high birth rate and low death rate widens the gap. Thirdly, low birth rate and low death rate again balances the population to optimum size.

The Third Five Year Plan, started in 1961, stated; "The objective of stabilising the growth of population over a reasonable period must be at the very centre of planned development". (India 1961 p. 675). In this plan large scale programmes of education, family planning, birth control schemes, government-sponsored researches and contraceptive methods were adopted. In the Seventh and Eighth Plans more focus was drawn on reducing the population size and promoting healthy population. The Ninth plan also approaches for reducing the population growth with sustainable development.

Many causes are attributed to the low death rate and its decline, such as removal of famines, control of epidemics, decline in the incidence of malaria and



tuberculosis, supply of pure drinking water in urban and rural areas, improved sanitation and hygiene in cities and villages, spread of education and expanded medical facilities. There are manifold causes of high birth rate in modern India such as the predominance of agriculture, industrialization, lower age of marriage, religious and social superstitions, joint family system, lack of education.

The high population growth adversely affects the developmental works in a country. Due to high population, capital formation becomes low, per capita income is reduced, unemployment increases, pressure on food supply is increased, education, health care, housing facilities become burdensome and environmental pollution also increases.

To deal with the population problem three fold measures are required, viz. economic measures, social measures and family planning programmes.

### ECONOMIC MEASURES

It has been observed that the poorer the country, the greater the population problems and the richer the country the lesser the population problem. Therefore, any country riding under the population problem must attempt to eliminate poverty, create employment opportunities and raise the per capita income.

India is basically an agro-based country. Over 70 per cent of its population still live in the villages. In agriculture, disguised unemployment is found, in the sense, that unproductive population is often found engaged in agriculture. For example, the yield of a field does not increase even if twenty more persons than the required number are employed in a field. Therefore, it is necessary that more and more industries are to be opened in the urban as well as in the rural areas, so that more employment opportunities are created to absorb the unemployed.

Industrialization would further change the lot of the people in that the joint family would gradually break-up and nuclear families would be established. This will help to manage the health, nutrition and education of the children. It is also hoped that if the larger population of the country gets rid of complete dependence upon agriculture, it will also help reduce the size of the family.

Under economic measures the government has introduced employment generating schemes and poverty alleviation programmes, particularly in the rural areas such as Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM), Jawahar Rojgar Yojna, Modified Area Development Projects (MADA), Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP), Large-scale Agricultural Multi-Purpose Societies (LAMPS) etc.

### FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMME

This programme was launched in 1951. The First Five Year Plan (1951-56) and Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) emphasised the research in the field of

demography, communication and physiology of human production. In the Third Five Year Plan (1961-66) a number of Primary Health Centres (PHCs) were established and 'Clinic Approach' was supplemented by the 'Extension Approach'. After 1966 this programme ~~became~~ target-oriented and was integrated with Maternal and Child Health Programme. Thereafter, population education was introduced in some schools and colleges and a full fledged Department of Family-Planning was created under the Ministry of Health at the Centre to monitor the programme. However, due to poor follow up programmes and unsuitability of the device, the programme suffered a setback. Encouraged by the Ernakulam sterilization camp, the government introduced compulsory sterilization which resulted in the imposition of emergency in June 1975 due to unpopularity of the family planning programme.

In 1976 the government showed its seriousness about controlling cumulative population growth. The government announced a comprehensive population policy and renamed the programme as 'Family Welfare Programme'. In 1978 Planning Commission constituted a working group to formulate Population Policy and aimed at receiving net reproduction rate of one at all India level by 2001 A.D. The Government desired to achieve birth rate 21 per thousand and death rate 9 per thousand and Infant Mortality rate of 60 per cent in the Seventh Plan (1985-90). In the Eighth Plan (1992-97) the government desired achieving Net Reproduction Rate (NRR) one by 2011-2016 A.D., the Couple Protective Rate, 56 per cent, Birth Rate 26 per thousand and Infant Mortality Rate of 70 per thousand.

For making Family Welfare Programme more effective, the government has been using all sorts of media like Cinema, Radio, T.V. Posters and Newspapers. To make the family planning programme more effective government should open a number of contraceptive distribution centres in both rural and urban areas. Researches in the field of demography, communication, reproductive biology and fertility control has to be given a high priority in any Family Planning Programme because this aspect has been, generally, ignored in underdeveloped and developing countries like India.

It has been found that the different states show variation in the performance of Family Planning Programme. Even the states in terms of districts and small regions show this variation. A recent projection by the Registrar General envisages attainment of Replacement Level or a Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of 2.1 by 2026. Some states will achieve it earlier such as Andhra Pradesh by 2002, Maharashtra by 2009, but Bihar only in 2039, Madhya Pradesh after 2026 and Uttar Pradesh beyond 2100.



In contrast Kerala achieved replacement level in 1988, Goa a little before that and Tamilnadu in 1993. It was all because of high level of literacy in the above states. For instance in 1991, according to Census of India, the literacy level was 90% in Kerala 76% in Goa and 63% in Tamilnadu. In Contrast the literacy level in Rajasthan in 1991 was 38.6%, 41.6 % in U.P. and 38.5% in Bihar and when we look at female literacy the figures in these states are more grim. In 1991 the female literacy in Rajasthan was only 20%, it was 25% in U.P. and 22% in Bihar.

**Social and educational Measure** - Female education and child survival are two important and interrelated factors for the control of cumulative increase in populations size. Due to high Infant Mortality Rate, in rural areas the couple do not use contraceptives to check the number of children. They always fear about the loss of the child.

Thus, an appraisal of the population policy reveals the fact that more emphasis has been given on the use of contraceptive methods, instead of raising the standard of living of the masses in the countryside to bring about a fall in the rate of population growth. Therefore, if the population problem is to be solved in this country a frontal attack has to be made on poverty particularly in rural and tribal areas.

Many experts believe that coercive method should not be used for controlling the population, because this method hurts the dignity of people and hence they are counterproductive. Economists and social anthropologists view that if we want to attain the *Net Reproductive Rate* one by 2011-16, then *Couple Protection Rate* has to be increased to the level of about 62 per cent and qualitative change in the functioning of the Public Health Centres has to be brought about. At district level we must have target in terms of *fertility reduction*. We must have coordination among all the departments including voluntary organisations. Area specified integrated plans of action, at state, district and block levels have to be drawn up with the objective of reduction of fertility. Schemes for the women education and their role in development along with child survival have to be given priority. With the 73rd and 74th amendment of the constitution Panchayats are likely to take over implementation of the population control programmes. This might help in boosting the people's participation and better acceptance of Family Planning Programme by the rural and tribal women.

What has happened to India's population in the last fifty years, represent some success, but also, a great failure. In 1947 the birth rate in India was about 42 per thousand population. In 1997 it has come down to around 28 per thousand. The average annual decline has been over the period of 0.28 per cent. If we progress at the same pace we will need atleast another twenty five years to reach the

replacement level of 21 births per thousand. This will take about 2022 A.D., whereas we have planned to achieve replacement level by 2001 A.D. We have not done well at all.

The data regarding the expected population growth and the aims in the Seventh Five Plan was as follows-

#### Expected Population Growth

	Persons (In Crore)	Middle Projections Average Annual growth	Average Annual Growth in %
1981	68.51	—	—
1986	76.11	1.52	2.11
1991	83.72	1.52	1.92
1996	91.32	1.52	1.74
2001	98.61	1.46	1.75

Source : Expert Committee on Population Projections (1988)

#### In Seventh Five Year Plan aims

	Aim to achieve in 2000	Present rate of achievement (1989)
1. Population growth rate	1.2 %	2.03%
2. Birth rate	21 per 1000	30.6 per 1000
3. Death rate	9 per 1000	10.3 per 1000
4. Child death rate	60 per 1000	91 per 1000
5. Couple Protection rate	60%	44.1%

on 1 April 1991

#### Expected Figures in Different aspect of Population in India

Sl. No.	Year	Variables	Figure
1.	1997	Birth rate	26 per thousand
2.	1997	Child death rate	70 per thousand
3.	2001	Life expectancy (Male)	64.1 Years
	"	" (Female)	65.6 "
4.	2001	Couple Protection rate	53% "
5.	2001	Population size	98.6 Crores

Source : Indian Economy,

Does India's Population Growth pose any problem? Yes, indeed. By 2047 A.D. India's population is likely to be 1579 million. We will have added 1200 million to the population of 350 million in 1947.



To feed this population we will have to increase enormous food supply. Most of India will experience acute water shortage in the next century. There are already forecasts that by 2025 A.D. many parts of South India will face water famines. Both India's land and water resources are finite which will be under severe strain. So will be environmental problems. The problems do not end here. Shelter for 1579 million by 2047 A.D. will pose serious challenges. The clothings, health care and education will be mounting problems.

Can India avoid population related problems in the next 50 years? The answer is no. However, can India mitigate the order of the problem? The answer is yes.

The remedies are simple.

- (i) The backward states must be steered in the right direction.
- (ii) Top priority has to be given to the proper education of the girl child.

It is extremely important that states like U.P. and Bihar focus adequately on health care, education and general social development. If U.P. and Bihar get better health care and educational facilities in the next 10 years, the population growth of India will be more manageable.

We do not need another emergency. We do not need compulsory sterilisation. We do not need coercion, we need simple steps to educate the girl child. We need more rapid reduction in infant mortality. We need better family planning services. The real hope is the girl child. We need to give her highest priority in the next 50 years. Decades ago, Mahatma Gandhi said very aptly, "If we educate a man then we educate a man only. If we educate a woman then we educate a family as a whole".

## Chapter 5

### THE BASIS OF INDIAN SOCIAL SYSTEM

#### VARNA

Literally meaning colour, this term is mainly used to describe the system of social stratification of the Aryans of Vedic age. According to Sri Yaskacharya, Varna is derived from the root Vri, meaning choice, implying that Varna is that which a person chooses according to his nature or work. Originally, it appears, varna was used to differentiate fair complexioned Aryans from the dark complexioned non-Aryans. Later on the word was used to describe the four social classes - Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya & Shudra - denoting, respectively, the teaching and priest class, ruler class, business class, and physical labourer class.

Theoretically all Aryans belonged to one of the four classes, though sharp distinction was made between the three higher classes and the fourth the Shudra. The fact that earliest Rig Vedic references mention only the first three has led to the speculation that the Shudras comprised exclusively of people of non-Aryan origin after their subjugation. Indeed, the first three are also known as Dwija (twice born) the initiated while Shudras were not allowed to be initiated.

This four-fold division was, in theory, functional. Each had its duties well laid down. The Brahmins were enjoined to study and teach, to perform yajnas and sacrifices, to give and receive gifts. The Kshatriya must protect the people, sacrifice and study, the Vaishya, in addition to sacrifices and study, must also till the earth, breed the cattle and trade, while Shudra's duty is only to serve the three higher classes (The Laws of Manu).

The root of Varna system, quite clearly, is division of labour, not unlike the later caste system. But it was not optional, as is popularly believed, nor transition from one Varna to another was allowed. Moreover, this idealized division of labour was hardly ever wholly reached. We shall see these four Varnas in some detail.

(a) Brahmin - The word itself means 'one possessed of Brahman', a supernatural impersonal power ruling the universe. There were two types of Brahmins the learned in Shastras, who performed all the rites of Aryans and received great respect, upholding the Great Traditional Vedic ideals, and those village Brahmins who earned much of their living by fortune-telling, and



maintained the Little Tradition. Even among the first group were further subdivisions: the legendary Rishis who composed vedic hymns, the Munis who lived own ascetic life in forests; the Purohita, Ritvij, Hotri, Udgatri etc. who helped in sacrificial ritual.

Often the Brahmin lived under the patronage of a king or chief. Usually they were granted tax free land, to be tilled by the peasant, who, in turn paid their rents to the Brahmin. But there were also the Brahmins, who following Apad-dharma, took recourse to a number of trades and professions, including posts in the government, engaging in agriculture and trade, though, such Brahmin were not held in as great esteem as true priests and teachers.

(b) Kshatriya - Also called Rajanya, their duty was protection-fighting in war and ruling in peace. The Kshatriya sword and Brahmin ideology were the twin who ruled the country. In later periods, the Kshatriyas often claimed superiority over Brahmins, by virtue of their military and political power and the fact that they fed the Brahmins.

From great emperors to petty chiefs, the Kshatriya class was recruited from all races and ranks, and every invader, down to the coming Muslims, were accorded a place in the social order this way. They also claimed, and received, certain privileges particularly those related to personal pleasures and enjoyment. They kept large harems, concubines, and marriage by capture was permitted to them. They could drink, punish at will and their will was law, insofar as it did not affect the upper echelons of priests.

(c) Vaishya - These, the mercantile class, though theoretically a part of Aryan order, were, as referred to in "Aitareya Brahmana", "paying tribute to others, lived on by others, and oppressed at will". He was, mainly a wretched cultivator or petty merchant, and a source of profit to the higher two classes. Apart from agriculture and cattle breeding, according to Manu, he also dealt in clothes, spices, jewels, metals perfumes etc., and national and international trade came within his purview.

In later times, as Buddhist literature shows the Vaishyas were powerfully organized in guilds, and many of them lived in great luxury. Wealthy ones were respected by the kings and enjoyed their favour and confidence. Their influence steadily grew and it was by their support that Brahmanism could be upstaged by Jainism and Buddhism.

(d) Shudras - The lowest in the order, the Shudras were not Dwija, not initiated. They were the "servants of another, to be expelled at will, to be slain at will", in the words of Aitareya Brahmana. They were not considered as regular Aryans, and their origin is doubtful. They may have been the conquered non-Aryans. Later on, those who's were excommunicated due to various omissions and guilt were considered Shudras, as were those born illegitimately.

Shudra was to wait on his masters, eat his leftovers, wear his cast-off clothes, and live in separate huts meant specially for them. He was not allowed to hear or repeat the Vedas. They had no scope for happiness and whose only hope was a rebirth in higher social class.

Like Vaishyas, they, too, eagerly embraced and supported the Buddhism and Jainism, who theoretically made no class distinction in religious affairs, and much later, Islam, which also presented a theoretically egalitarian ideology.

## ASHRAM

Just as early Indian Society was divided into four classes, the Varna, so was the life of an individual divided into four stages - the Ashram. But there is no reason to believe that both originated simultaneously. There is no reference of Ashram in Vedic literature. The four stages were (a) Brahmachari, (b) Grihastha, (c) Vanaprastha, (d) Sanyas.

This scheme was an ideal, for a majority of them never went beyond the first two. It has been suggested by historians that the last two were added as a counter measure when Buddhist and Jainas encouraged the young men to take up asceticism and by-pass the family life altogether. Meditation and spiritual quest was presented as the aim of life, which was becoming very popular. The Ashram system was conceived to gain the lost ground and provided an individual a chance to do the both - to live as householder, procreate, allow the society to go on, and take up asceticism later in life. We shall now see the main features of the four stages.

(a) Brahmacharya - This stage began when a child became Dwija, by the investiture of sacred-thread and became a full fledged Aryan. He left his home to live with his teacher at his place. He had to lead an austere and celibate life, study Vedas and such other instructions imparted by his Guru. The Kshatriya boys were also taught horse-riding, archery, fencing and other martial art.

The student was expected to treat his Guru most reverently, attending to all his needs, obey his commands with implicit faith, and to even beg food for him, if necessary.

This Ashram was completed when a Brahmachari was pronounced learned in whatever course he was taking, usually at least one of the Veda. This happened in his early twenties. A ritual bath (Snah), back at his home would finally make him Snataka (Graduate).

(b) Grihasthashram - The stage of householder began with marriage, which was a positive duty for three reasons - it afforded to fulfill the religious duty by performing household sacrifices, procreation of children for continuing the lineage and assuring ancestors of happy after life, and sexual pleasure.



Attending to his economic pursuits appropriate to his social standing, including in amusements and pleasures, joining his equals in social gatherings, looking after the education of children, marrying off the daughters, performing regular sacrifices were some of his duties in this stage.

(c) Vanaprasthashram - When a person had his sons completing their Brahmacharyashram and entering the stage of the householders, and having completed his own social tasks and family responsibilities, handed over the running of the household to his son and prepares himself for the third stage of life. He starts meditation. Frequent forays into jungle for weeks or months, giving counsel to his offspring in the ways of life and generally detaching himself from world affairs, but not actually leaving it altogether are the main features of this stage. In the later years, he started living permanently in forests, in hermitage, where he performed regular rites and studied religious literature. He raised the spiritual power by self-mortification. He lived on fruits collected from the forests or alms given by the villagers.

(d) Sanyasashram - This last stage came when a man left his hermitage, gave up the performances of all ceremonies, and truly broke all attachments to worldly thing. He became a homeless wanderer (Sanyasi), with nothing but a begging bowl, a stick and a few rags of cloth.

He was enjoined neither to hope for life nor to wish for death, nor to show any emotion, and abstaining from all worries, desires and cares.

The above is an ideal scheme of Ashram system. In actual practice very few went up to the fourth stage. Even the entry into the third stage may have been precipitated by the behaviour of his sons who would not be averse to seeing the back of their father for farming out the property. In a majority of cases, the third stage was lived in the vicinity of their villages or towns.

Moreover, a strict adherence to ashram system was also in direct conflict with another basic feature of Aryan life-the sacraments. There were many "Sanskars" to be performed without which man's passage in this world was incomplete. The last of these-the Annyeshi (the last rites) - could not be performed for a Sanyasi, a wanderer, who may die far from his native place, where his sons would not reach him. This may also have been the reason to skip the last stage.

**PURUSHARTHA** → Aim or purpose of man

The concept of Purushartha is a fundamental principle of social ethics. Like four classes in the society and four stages in the life of an individual, the ancient Indian seers conceived of four aims, or purposes, of a man - the Purushartha. These are not only meant to set an ideal objective but also to convey the right means to achieve them. The four Purusharthas are Dharma, Artha, Kama, and

Moksha. The concept recognizes the inter-dependence of society and individual and tries to keep both integrated and balanced. Since the natural urge of an individual is quite in contrast to the natural needs of the society a common ground had to be found, and it was found in the concept of Purushartha.

(a) Dharma - Though literally and loosely translated as religion the concept of Dharma is much wider. It is the law, or principle, on which society is based. It also defines the Kama (the righteous conduct) of a person on the basis of his Varna and Ashram. A man is expected to uphold the truth, believe in god and generally behave in a way that is conducive to the maintenance of social order, his own dignity, and the true path in life.

(b) Artha - It means wealth. The pursuit of wealth for the material comfort of self and family is a duty enjoined on a person. It is necessary for the performance of one's duty to god, parents, guru, offspring etc.

(c) Kama - Though translated as sex, the word connotes all worldly desires. The fulfillment of sexual urge is recognized as legitimate, particularly if it is within the socially approved limits of marriage, and leading to the birth of offspring.

(d) Moksha - Moksha is freedom from the cycle of birth and death. It is the Ultimate Goal of all human beings. It highlights spiritualism and is supposed to answer the fundamental question about the purpose of life.

The first three of the Purushartha - Dharma, Artha and Kama - are meant for the present life and the last one for the after-life. Many thinkers have stressed equal importance for all four. It is generally accepted that without proper fulfillment of Dharma, Artha and Kama, Moksha cannot be attained.

## KARMA AND REBIRTH

Though analytically independent, the two concepts, or doctrines of Karma (deeds) and rebirth are mutually and functionally related.

The karma is the sum of all actions, all deeds that a person performs in his life from birth to death. The Karma in present life, the status in life, the nature and tendencies, physical enjoyment and mental happiness, deformities and miseries are all the results of one's deeds (Karma) in the past birth. It is believed that if a man's deeds are as per Dharma, the next birth will certainly be in a higher status, with all attendant paraphernalias and happiness; if not, he shall be born in a lower class, or even in the form of animals or worms, or insects.

The doctrine of transmigration of soul is not found in early vedic religious, though it was adopted later. It was in Brihadaranyak Upanishad that it is first mentioned, but was quickly adopted and elaborated as it was seen to be a good explanatory device for all the miseries man experiences. The concept of soul was further refined as undying, which passes repeatedly from life to life for an



inestimably long time. This doctrine became fundamental to most early Indian thought.

From a purely analytical standpoint, the unification of twin doctrines of Karma and rebirth was a magnificent device of social control in a stratified society based primarily on inequalities in social position and economic opportunities in Varna and later on, caste system. It justifies the present lot of a man, and promises improvement in next life, if and only if, he conducts himself as per norms of the society as defined in the Dharma for each Varna and for each Ashram, the Varnashram Dharma.

It has been criticised by western philosophers as encouraging fatalism in Indian culture and moral regression in an individual. This criticism has been refuted on the ground that it places premium on good and moral conduct, and inspires a man for Purushartha.

**RINAS (Debts)** - In order to inculcate a sense of obligation to his duties, and to ensure a continuity in tradition the concept of Rina (debt) was formulated. Three major debts are envisaged.

(a) Guru rina (Debt to preceptor)

(b) Pitri rina (Debt to parents)

(c) Deva rina (Debt to god)

A man has to repay these debts in his life without which a man cannot attain moksha. The first debt is incurred while a man is in Brahmacharya ashram, and the Guru gave him the knowledge of life, veda, god etc. and made him a fit member of society. This debt can be repaid by life-long reverence to Guru, and sending his own sons for studies. A man is indebted to his parents because they brought him to this world, took much pains and underwent great sufferings in his upbringing. This debt can be paid by giving birth to own children and looking after them in the same selfless way. The debt to god can be repaid by leading a virtuous and pious life, by offering regular prayers and by performing yajna and sacrifices.

In addition, debt to fellow beings and animals are also recognized. These can be repaid by caring for the poor, entertaining the guests, giving alms and looking after animals.

**Hindu Joint Family** - Hindu Joint Family is one of the most studied and described institutions. A Joint Family is defined by Karve as "a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked in one kitchen, who hold property in common, participate in common family worship and are related to one another as some particular type of kindred." (Karve, 1954, 10). In anthropological parlance, the joint family is a group of nuclear families of collaterally or/and lineally related persons.

A joint family is characterized by mutuality or commonness, of residence, hearth, property, rights and obligations. From economic point of view, a joint family is a corporate group, holding property-land, cattle, cottage industry-the members having common interest in keeping the property intact and save it from fragmentation by division.

**Characteristic of Hindu Joint Family** - The eldest male member in the joint family acts as Head of the family. He is a patriarch, with absolute control over the property and the members of the family, whose wishes and commands have to be obeyed implicitly. He has the final say in all vital matters of the family-education of children, negotiation and finalization of marriage of sons, daughters and grand children, social relationship with other families, sale and purchase of properties etc. and his decisions are binding. In a great majority of cases he is not a despot, and takes a decision in consultation with other adult members. The common hearth, common residence and common property helps in optimum utilization of limited resources.

### MERITS OF JOINT FAMILY

(1) **Co-operation** - A joint family is maintained due to co-operation between its members. The brothers help each other in times of distress and need, and greater manpower utilization is possible in economic and social life.

(2) **Socialistic system** - Every member in a joint family has to contribute in the joint effort. The family is run on a purely socialistic theory from each according to his ability, to each according to his need.

(3) **Social security** - One of the major problems faced by members in modern nuclear families of husband, wife and children-is the insecurity in both economic and social terms. An accident, disease, illness may throw the system out of gear. The family may not have enough saving to meet the medical bills. There is none to look after the wife or needs of children if she falls ill. And untimely death of earning member may jeopardise the future of wife and children. In a joint family, on the other hand, all these are no problem at all. The members in the whole family and all the economic resources are there to provide support.

(4) **Division of labour** - The natural human division of labour based on age and sex - is beautifully regulated in a joint family. All the brothers and their grown up sons look after agriculture and animal husbandry, by dividing different tasks among themselves. The woman and grown up daughters do the household chores of cooking cleaning and washing, as well as taking care of infants and younger children. Woman also help in a field at the time of sowing and harvesting the crop. Every member knows his task and everything is done like a well-oiled machine.



(5) *Personality Development* - Being under direct control and supervision of many elders of both sexes, the children in the family have less chances of getting into undesirable company and going astray. Moreover, from their very childhood, as the living together demands, they are made to learn the basic virtues as obedience, co-operation, service, tolerance, generosity, patience, self-control and sacrifice. Meanness and selfish tendencies are curbed.

*Maintenance of Religious and Cultural Traditions* - The Hindu annual calendar contains numerous sacred days on which some or other religious activity has to be performed. The agricultural operation itself is related to many sacred rituals. Moreover, the life cycle ritual, the *Sanskars*, and other Vedic and Puranic rituals have also to be performed. Even to remember all these, much less to perform, is impossible in nuclear families, while these are easily managed in a joint family. The grandmother, who is relieved of daily chores by her daughters-in-law, usually keeps track of all these, in consultation with the Purohit. The daughters-in-law are slowly trained in all these affairs. The continuity is maintained. The grandfather, too, teaches the children the history of the family, or their clan, of the nation. Stories of great historical and religious heroes are told and retold. The lessons in morality and ethics are taught in daily life. All these help in preserving and handing down the cultural norms from generation to generation. In fact, the Hindu culture has survived through this institution for the last couple of thousand years, and is disappearing fast with the breaking up of joint family.

### DEMERITS OF JOINT FAMILY

(1) *Strife* - One of the greatest drawbacks of a joint family is that it becomes the center of bickerings and strife. The daughters-in-law come from different background, and each have different temperaments. Moreover, by nature they do love and look after their own children more than those of others in the family. They feel oppressed by mothers-in-law and in many cases they are justified in their feeling. The household becomes a veritable battleground for the female members, in which the male members are also drawn, willy-nilly.

(2) *Lower position of women* - Hindu society being patriarchal and patrilineal, the position of women has always been low, except in the earliest Vedic ages. In a joint family, moreover, they are almost treated as chattel. From dawn to late night they are engaged in household chores, under the supervision of a somewhat strict mother-in-law, who usually becomes too critical and sarcastic to be of comfort. Moreover, etiquette demands that they do not be free with husbands in front of other. They hardly meet them in day time anyway. In the night the husbands are either too tired or too lustful to talk. Even if the husbands do listen to their grievances, they are more likely to side with their mothers. In other words, the atmosphere becomes too oppressive for women to bear.

(3) *Laziness of few members* - It usually happens that those with a greater sense of responsibility break their backs by toiling hard, while others just while away their times. Since the care for and meeting the needs of members is a common responsibility, some persons just eat, sleep and beget children. Although such act is frowned upon there is no effective mechanism to check this tendency. Such free-loading discourages the hard workers also.

(4) *Population* - The concept of family planning is alien to Hindu psyche, who have traditionally considered the birth of children as gift of god. In a nuclear family, a man has to worry about the upbringing of children within his limited resources, he has the impetus to check the birth of children. In a joint family, as the responsibility is common, and tradition at its height, there is no effort to check the growth of family, leading to unrestricted population growth, leading to poverty. All these demerits, combined with urbanization and industrialization and consequent breaking up of rural economic system, higher educational opportunities and greater premium on service in urban centers has caused the fast disintegration of joint family. Even in villages, after the death of father, brothers usually separate by dividing the property, rather than put up with bickering and strife among the women or bear the burden of lazy freeloaders. Thus this magnificent institution may become extinct very soon, if it has not already become so.

### CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA

There are books, treatise, theses and theories galore on Indian Caste System. There is hardly an Indologist or a social scientist who has not contributed his mite to understand the intricacies of caste system and to unravel its origin.

Caste is an endogamous social group having a specific position in social hierarchy on the basis of some fixed occupation, is guided by rules of social intercourse and commensality, and to which a person belongs since birth.

In India, caste has been the basis of social stratification and any effort towards understanding Indian society, its structure and organization, must take into account the caste system.

*Origin* - A number of theories have been put forward to explain the origin of caste. Earlier, it was tried to explain as an expansion of Varna system, but no clear transition from Varna to caste could be traced. Moreover, ideally, the two are organized on two entirely different principles - Varna by profession and caste by birth. Also, there were only 4 Varnas while at present there are above 4 thousand castes. We shall briefly go through each of the theories.

(a) *Racial Theory* - Propounded by Herbert Risley and D.N. Majumdar, this theory seeks to explain the origin of caste system in the proliferation of different



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rac~~es~~ who have entered India after the Aryans. Each race, and the resultant race after they intermixed, gave birth to a new caste.

(b) Brahmanic Theory - Put forward by G.S. Ghurye the theory seeks to trace the origin of caste system to the Brahmanic influence and their concept of purity and pollution, conceived to gain political ascendancy.

(c) Occupational Theory - Nesfield explains origin of caste in terms of occupation. Many castes derive their names by the work they do, such as Chamar, Lohar, Sonar, Teli etc.

(d) Mana Theory - 'Mana' is a word to denote impersonal supernatural power supposed to be diffused in nature and permeating all animate and inanimate objects. J.H. Hutton is of the view that caste system originated in the belief in Mana of non-Aryan groups, who practised untouchability, endogamy etc. to neutralize the evil effects of Mana.

(e) Religious Theory - Hocart believes that religious beliefs and customs are at the root of caste system. The early Hindu concept of Dharma, which had connotation of duty also for each group based on profession. This later on crystallized into caste system.

In addition there were many more theories which seek to explain the origin of caste system. It is apparent that all these only touch upon one or two aspects of caste system and are easily refuted with reference to other aspects. For example, though belief in Mana is universal, why should it give rise to caste system only in India? Similarly, the number of castes is far greater than number of occupations. It can be said that a perfect explanation of caste system is yet to be found out.

Features of Caste System - Some basic features of caste system can be enumerated on the basis of definition given above:

(a) Caste is endogamous - The members of a caste are bound to marry within their own castes.

(b) Caste is hierarchical - Every caste has a fixed position in the social order, in which Brahmins are at the top, the Shudras are at the bottom and others are in between the two with varying degrees of respectability.

(c) Caste has an occupation - Ideally, each caste has its own fixed occupation which it is obliged to follow.

(d) Rules of Commensality - The social intercourse and commensal relations between castes are guided by specific rules and customs. If found guilty of breach, a person may be socially boycotted by fellow castemen.

(e) Hereditary - The caste of a person is that in which he is born. It cannot be changed.

## The Basis of the Indian Social System

(f) Religious sanction - The inequalities and differentiation among the caste has been given religious sanction by explaining these through the doctrine of Karma and rebirth.

(g) Division of labour - Each caste having an occupation, the system functions quite efficiently in a rural, agricultural, economy. Every economic activity is assigned to a specific caste - Ironsmith, Potter, Carpenter, Leatherworker, Washermen, Goldsmith, Oilmonger, Grocer, Cleaner, Scavenger, Barber, Religious functionary etc. etc. Each caste, thus is a part of the whole society and integrated as a system. In other words, caste system is a social expression of an economic system based on agriculture.

Disintegration of Caste System - Indian Caste system has disintegrated very fast. This system which had been part and parcel of Indian society for well over two thousand years, may well disappear in a few decades from now. But though caste system is disappearing, caste has survived, and has reestablished itself in the form of casteism. First, the factors leading to disintegration of caste system :-

(a) Urbanization and Industrialization - These twin processes have done most damage to caste system. The system presupposes a rural self-sufficient economy, a cottage industry, and more or less socio-political autonomy of villages. The different occupation groups produced, and manufactured, enough to meet the local demand. When mass-produced and cheaper articles arrived, the traditional artisans went out of business. These newly unemployed had to seek employment in urban and industrial centres which were simultaneously springing up. The villages lost their self-sufficiency and the economic base of caste system was broken.

(b) Democracy - The introduction of democracy in India with its emphasis on social equality, abolition of untouchability, and devolution of political power to the masses, was another blow to the caste system based on precisely the opposite principles. Earlier political power was exclusively vested in a few upper castes, who used this as a lever to promote their own interests, and to keep the caste system intact.

(c) Education - The inequalities and exploitation inherent in caste system survived for thousand of years also because lower castes, with deep-rooted faith in religion and belief in the theory of Karma and rebirth, accepted their lot with passive resignation. Modern education, with emphasis on secular, socialist, liberal outlook, has changed the perception and basic attitude of people. Moreover, a generation of city-dwellers, who have never seen village life, and who, by virtue of education, are now holding key position in Government, bureaucracy, judiciary etc. or also contributing to the undermining of caste system.



(d) Transport and Communication - The introduction of roadways and railways, radio, newspapers, telephone, television, airways etc. has opened up vast possibilities of greater mobility, which was earlier denied to the lower caste poor artisans and landless laborers. They were forced to their places due to lack of alternatives, both in idea and in training.

(e) Judiciary - The introduction of modern judicial system, making all citizens equal in the eyes of the law and provision of similar punishment for similar offenses irrespective of the offender's caste, has given much needed impetus to the oppressed to raise their voices. The stranglehold of caste panchayats has also weakened considerably. All these factors together in combination have caused the disintegration of caste system.

### CASTEISM

While caste system is waning, casteism is waxing. It may be defined as blind loyalty to one's caste to the exclusion of other castes, and unduly promoting and safeguarding the interests of members of their own caste at the cost of others. The growing competition for limited positions of powers and prestige by securing lucrative positions in government administration for near relatives, friends and supporters has given new impetus to the maintenance of caste as a viable social group. The provision of reservation in the Govt. jobs on the basis of caste, and political expediency of creating and maintaining vote banks along caste lines are some of the factors promoting casteism.

## Chapter 6

### IMPACT OF DIFFERENT STREAMS OF RELIGION ON INDIAN SOCIETY

#### BUDDHISM, JAINISM, ISLAM, AND CHRISTIANITY

India, though bounded by Himalayan range and Indian ocean has never been isolated from the rest of the world in its long history. People from outside have been coming as invaders at regular intervals, some being able to conquer and subjugate her. They brought with them new religion, new philosophy, new ideas, new politico-administrative system and new military strategy. But the vast melting-pot that India is, they were all engulfed into the mainstream of composite Indian Culture, and incorporated as a part of its tradition.

In addition, the Indian society has thrown up a variety of new ideas, new philosophies, new religions from within its own fold, some of them as reactions to the excesses of existing systems, some as synthesis of the conflicting system. Apart from the Vedic and Brahmanic traditions - the Hinduism - which has been the core of Indian culture, at least four major religions have flourished on Indian soil - Buddhism, Jainism, Islam and Christianity. Of these, Buddhism and Jainism arose as reactions to the Brahmanism, about half a millennium before Christ, and had a great cathartic effect. These were products of Indian culture, propounded and followed by Indians, and did not vary much in essentials. Islam and Christianity, on the other hand, were alien to India in origin and ethos. Their followers came to India as conquerors and subjugated Indian culture, religion, philosophy and people. Their presence led to much social and religious conflicts in India which still continues. By virtue of political patronage they did have large impact on Indian culture. They were never fully assimilated and a strong undercurrent of alienness has always been there, and this feeling has persisted.

As both Buddhism and Jainism originated at about the same time, in the same region, due to same causes, appealed to the same people and had similar effects, though of varying degree, we shall treat both of them together.

#### IMPACT OF BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

The Buddhism and Jainism, the first of the many religious reform movements within Hinduism that were to follow at regular intervals, aiming primarily to remove the ills of Brahmanical Hinduism, ended up as distinct religions in their own right. The Indians of 6th and 5th Century B.C. had become oppressed by



the elaborate *yajnas* and inevitable sacrifices that every religious ceremony required, and arrogant Brahmins, holding monopoly in religious matters, demanded. There was powerful undercurrent of revolt against them, and the common people eagerly adopted the alternative that Buddhism and Jainism provided.

There were many positive points in the new philosophy and the way of life offered by these two, the least of which was that both were expounded by princes who relinquished a life of luxury and comfort and power to propagate their doctrines. Both Buddhism and Jainism were able to exert profound influence on the society, polity and ideology of India. We shall study their impact under different heads.

(1) Religious life - The two new religions exposed the evil of Hinduism at that time. The Brahmins, who were at the helm of the society forced the people to perform *Yajnas* and sacrifices at every stage of life cycle. The corruption of the priest hood was rampant, which demanded special privileges for itself, and got it by spiritual extortion. Buddhism and Jainism promised a relief from this extortion and ritualism. Instead of *yajnas* and sacrifices, a religion based on devotion and contemplation was offered in which Brahmins had no place at all. Naturally people lapped it up. A new era of ritualistic simplicity dawned.

The exodus from Hinduism to Buddhism and Jainism forced the Brahmins to realise their mistakes and they quickly reformed themselves. Instead of Brahmin-centred *yajnas* individual based devotional worship was incorporated, in which a person could pray to God directly. The detachment from material comforts and a life of asceticism, proposed by Buddhism and Jainism as ideals, were included in the Hindu way of life as the third and fourth ashrama in a person's life cycle - *Vanprashtha* and *Sanyas*. Like *Nirvana*, *Moksha* was accepted as the ultimate aim of life. A ban on animal sacrifice was enforced in day-to-day life. All these and similar reforms in Hinduism were the impact of Buddhism and Jainism.

Political Life - One of the major planks of Buddhism and Jainism was their insistence on *Ahimsa* (non-violence). Violence in every form was eschewed. This lessened the conflict between different classes in the society. At the state level, too, both had their impact. Many kings and emperors adopted Buddhism or Jainism and made it their state religion. They also adopted the principle of non-violence as the basis of state craft. This put an effective check on the internecine and perpetual warfare between the rulers of various kingdoms. The well-known example of Ashoka the Great's change of heart after the Kalinga war is a case in point. Thereafter, his ceaseless work in the propagation of Buddhism in and outside India is legendary.

The majority of Buddhists and Jains formerly belonged to the *Vaishya* and *Shudra* *Varnas* of Hindu social order, where they were looked down upon. Their

plight had been of no concern to a larger number of rulers in the past. Now, their welfare became the central point of state policy. A number of social welfare projects were taken up by the kings. These developments also fostered a sense of political unity in the country.

Thus the concepts of welfare-state and non-violence became the corner-stone of Indian state policy which has survived till this day.

Of course, the impact of Buddhism and Jainism had its negative effects too. The emphasis on non-aggression and non-violence as well as on ascetic life and spiritualism, also weakened the militancy of Indians and caused a decline in the military strength of India. Within a few centuries, India had become so weak militarily, that it fell easy prey to foreign invaders who came in quick succession and condemned India to centuries of political subjugation.

Social Life - The theoretically open-ended and occupation-based *Varna* order, had already become birth-based. Indian society had become stratified into many castes with glaring social inequalities. Women and *Shudras*, as well as poor *Vaishyas* as had no social status whatever, they were systematically deprived from having any sort of education and faced a number of restrictions in their socio-economic and politico-religious life. These people readily adopted the new religions because they not only professed equality of all but actually practised it. A new society based on equality of all members thus came into existence. But the most important contribution of Buddhism and Jainism has been the way it inculcated a high sense of ethics and morality in public and private life. The Noble Eight Fold Path, the "Ten Precepts" and "Four Cardinal Virtues" were not only meant to attain *Nirvana*, but also to strictly guide the people's conduct. Love for all animate things, benevolence, renunciation of laxity in sexual thought and action, prohibition of theft and use of alcohol as well as lying, perjury, slander, gambling and indolence went a long way in establishing a code of conduct in social life which became a feature of Indian culture.

Intellectual Freedom and Literature - One of the most important contributions of Buddhism and Jain thought lies in its assertion that independent intellectual activity assists man's development and encouraged them to think for himself. Brahmanic religion had blunted man's intellectual perceptivity through excessive rituals and dogma, to be followed faithfully and blindly but not to question why. Now the people were asked to cogitate on the value of their own thoughts and action. To some extent logic replaced superstition. Buddhism and Jainism achieved immediate success also because they used the language of the common people. *Prakrit* or *Pali*, and not *Sanskrit*, which could be understood by only courtiers and Brahmins. Buddha and Mahavir themselves preached through the medium of these languages.

A great literary activity followed in vernacular, and continued until the middle ages. *Apabhramsa* writing in India were composed by *Buddhists* and *Jains*.



Magadhi became the official language of the Mauryan court. Its hybrid variety, the *Arha-Magadhi*, became the sacred language of the Jainas.

Buddha's "*Mahaabhiyan*" and, *Jataka*, tales were in *Pali* prose, while "*Therigāthā*" and "*Therigāthā*" (Songs of the elder Monks and Nuns) are examples of *Pali* poetry. Similarly, the stories of the "*Tirthankars*" of Mahavir were told in *prakrit*. Thus the common man's language got impetus and recognition.

*Buddhist* monasteries developed as great centres of learning. The Universities of *Nalanda* and *Vikramshila* in Bihar and *Valabhi* in Gujrat drew international attention in those days.

**Economic Life** - Cutting of forest for agriculture with plough was the major economic activity of the people, particularly in what is now Eastern U.P. and Bihar, where both Jainism and Buddhism took birth and flourished. Domestication of animals and their growth was essential for agriculture and dairy products. Brahmanism, on its insistence on animal sacrifice on every religious occasion, seriously threatened the depletion of livestock.

In this background, the *Buddhist* and *Jain* abhorrence of killing of animals, their emphasis on non-violence in every aspect of life and their love for plant and animal life was a boon for the growth of cattle wealth. The emphasis on vegetarianism also helped in checking the indiscriminate killing of animals. Perhaps the Hindu insistence on sacredness of cow is derived from Buddhism.

**Art and Architecture** - Indian art and architecture achieved a new dimension and attained great heights. The Hindu system of idol-worship is the effect of Buddhism, when idols of Buddha first came to be worshipped on a large scale. Idols, figurines, stupas, pillars, monasteries, sculpture, all were made not only in large numbers but were of surpassing beauty and splendour.

The Ashoka Pillars in Bihar and U.P., Stupa of Sanchi, Sarnath and Nalanda figurines found in Kanheri, Karle and Nasik, sculpture at Barabar and Ajanta Caves and carvings on the railings and gates of stupas are eternal witnesses of art and architecture of Buddhists.

Similarly, examples of Jain sculpture can be found in the rocks around Gwalior. The *Hathi-Gumpha* caves in Orissa and Jain Temple at Mount Abu in Rajasthan are living examples of Jain art at its best. Indeed, the famous Gandhar and Mathura schools of art had begun under their influence and survive to this day.

In fact, the impact of Buddhism on Indian culture was such that Brahmanical traditions were modified to a great extent. Buddha had to be accepted as one of the incarnations of Lord Vishnu. This, in itself, is an apt example of its effect in India.

In course of time, however, Jainism was limited to Rajasthan and Gujrat, while Buddhism vanished from India altogether and flourished in Sri Lanka, South

East Asia, China and Japan. It is witnessing a revival in India recently among the scheduled castes.

## IMPACT OF ISLAM

With the establishment of "Slave dynasty" at the beginning of 13th Century, the Muslim rule began in India. The political power of the rulers gave them a supremacy over every aspect of society and culture. Being in a position to dispense favours, they naturally had large following from among the local Hindu population. Slowly and steadily, the followers of two religions started influencing each other. Although the number of Muslims who came from outside was small, there were large number of converts. The first real resistance against the cultural onslaught began when Allauddin Khilji adopted an anti-Hindu policy. Revivalist and revitalizing movements began in India. At the same time efforts at compromise and reconciliation began, but, for the first time in 3,000 years, the Indian culture was unable to fully assimilate a foreign religion and society within its fold. It had to change itself.

**Religion** - The monotheistic philosophy of Islam affected the polytheistic practices of Hindus. Although monotheism had already developed in Hinduism prior to the arrival of Islam, its practices were essentially polytheistic as a large number of gods and deities were worshipped. Moreover, idolatry of Hindus and beef-eating of Muslims was particularly repugnant to each other. There was constant violence in the name of religion, and synthesizing influences cropped up all over India. Sikhism in Punjab was a distinct synthesis - Monotheism of Islam and tradition of Hinduism minus idolatry.

The lower caste Hindus, tired of untouchability and social - religious disabilities, were impressed by egalitarian Islam and converted in large numbers. Swami Ramanuj and his disciples - Kabir, Raidas, Chaitanya, Tukaram, etc. advocated the essential unity of supreme God of both Hinduism and Islam, and proposed an approach - the Bhakti movement - which preached tolerance, universal brotherhood and love, and tried to remove many of the superstitions of the Hindu. Even Akbar the Great launched a new synthetic religion, *Din-E-Ilahi*. His great grandson, Dara Shikoh, prepared Persian translation of *Upanishads* and another work entitled, "*Majama-ul-Bahrain*", or "*Mingling of two Oceans*".

All these had profound influence on the Hindus and divided them into two groups - a minority group accepted the reforms and adopted a progressive outlook; the majority group reacted differently by withdrawing into a shell and making their beliefs and practices even more conservative and orthodox. The divide persists even today.

**Art and Architecture** - Impact of Islam is most visible in the field of art and architecture. Not only new style of architecture was developed, even new raw materials were used, particularly red sandstone and marble. Large buildings,



**Forts, and Minars** were built. These structures had spacious interiors, massive arches and large domes. The *Qutab Minar* in Delhi, *Taj Mahal* in Agra, Forts in Delhi, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, the tombs of Akbar and Iumadud Daula etc. bespeak the beauty and grandeur of architecture of this period even today. Even Hindu temple builders adopted domes instead of *Stupa*. Painting also achieved new heights. The Moghul emperors were personally interested in painting. They promoted this art by sponsoring both Hindu and Muslim painters. The Moghuls had brought Chinese painting from Persia, which became fused with Indian painting. The reign of Jehangir saw painting at its zenith, and gave birth to a new school of painting, the "National Indian School of Painting".

Decorative relief carving is another aspect which flourished and reached a high level of excellence. The delicate marble carving and marble screen at Taj Mahal, Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra and buildings in Fatehpur Sikri are a few examples.

**Music** - Indian classical music had existed in India since at least Gupta period. The Muslims, particularly Moghuls, added to it new dimensions. Except Aurangzeb all Moghuls were lovers and connoisseurs of music. They provided royal patronage to musicians-both vocal and instrumental. The musicians were given seats in the Court and had much influence. Tansen, Baiju Bawara, Baba Ram Das, Sur Das etc., were some of the musicians who gave birth to a synthetic music, the Hindustani Music. Tabla and Sitar became a part of Indian music and new schools of music, like Khayal, developed. Qawwali also became part of Indian music.

**Gardening** - Gardening in India was languishing until the Moghul came. They brought to India new style of gardens developed in Persia and Turkistan. The gardens were laid on sloping grounds, with a series of terraces and having miniature waterfalls and channels. The main pavilion was built either at the top-most or the lowest terrace to provide a full view of foliage and water falls. The beauty and grandeur of gardens was realized and it has become a part of Indian aesthetic tradition.

**Language** - The synthesis of Islam and Hinduism gave birth to a new language which has become the common language of both - Urdu. Composed of Persian and Hindu words, Urdu became *lingua franca*, and from 18th century onwards, became the court language and almost all official transactions were made both in Persian and Urdu. Even Hindu nobility and middle class people learnt this language. Today Urdu is spoken by a large number of people. The legal terminology in India for words like plaintiff, defendant, sale, mortgage, document etc. belong to Urdu and are widely understood, even by illiterate Hindus.

Urdu became the medium of literature, particularly poetry. Great poets of India, specially Iqbal and Ghalib, wrote in Urdu.

**Social Life** - The Hindu mode of life, social manners and forms of address were considerably changed. The middle and upper class people being in closer and

regular contact with the ruling group, adopted the dress pattern, food habits, behaviour etc. The elaborate courtsey, the flowing courtly language of address, and formality in speech became a part of daily life. A variety of Moghul dishes, viz., *Naan*, *Biryani*, *Tandoori*, *Pulao*, became the part and parcel of Indian food habits. Tobacco also became popular. The muslim dress-Sherwani, Achkan, Payjama etc. for men and Salwar, Kurta, Chunnii for women are also common dresses.

Many of Indian sports and amusements were "Mohammedanized", both in method and techniques - particularly hunting, hawking, chess, kiteflying etc.

The position of women, however, plummeted. They had to bear the brunt of muslim-hindu riots, and the brutality of Muslim rulers, *Zamindars*, *Nawabs*, Army, etc. The usual social freedom that they had enjoyed for centuries was curtailed. They were forced to stay within the fourwalls and observe *Purdah*. Child marriage became more common, widow remarriage was strictly prohibited. Their birth was considered inauspicious. The system of *sati* gained currency. The education of woman, which had never enjoyed priority, was totally stopped.

**Administration** - Indian administrative machinery was changed a lot after Muslims came to India. For the first time after Ashoka the Great, almost entire Indian sub-continent was unified and made subject to one administrative system. The entire nation was divided into provinces with same administrative rules and regulations, same official titles, same language and same system of administration. This principle has survived. Same is the case of land revenue system based on quality of land and its productivity.

**Histriography** - One of the most important impacts of Islam in India was the art of Histriography. The earlier Hindus were not particularly concerned with this, and wherever they did, it was in the shape of stories, and without any reference to date or year. Moreover, the Hindus used a number of *Eras* based on different systems. The Muslims, on the other hand, maintained official records, wrote chronicles and gave exact date, month and year of writing using only one era. i.e. *Hizri era*. This facilitated the knowledge and understanding of the past.

It is thus clear that the impact of Islam was varied, deep-rooted and touched almost every aspect of Indian culture and society. It also created two social groups in India, permanently divided on the basis of religious beliefs, which has given to much animosity, conflict, tensions, and suspicion among the Indians affecting its society and polity. This situation was greatly utilized by the British in establishing their rule in India.

### IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY AND BRITISH RULE

Even Islam in 1,000 years could not affect Indian culture as much as the Christianity did in 200 years. The fundamental difference being that the followers of Islam came to India as conquerors but stayed here permanently. The Christians,



on the other hand, came as alien conquerors treated India as their colony, exploited her, broke all the traditional social, economic, political, educational and religious structure, and were forced to leave.

The impact of British on India was felt through two main agencies :

(a) British government

(b) Christian missionaries

Wherever the British established their colonies, they allowed Christian missions to set up Churches. This is true not only of India but entire British empire. While the Govt. struck on politico-economic fronts the Christian missions struck on the socio-religious aspects, and, like pincer movement, engulfed the whole society and culture.

The British impact has been so vast and so deep that present day India's constitution and government and constitutional, political, administrative, legal and educational structures are precisely what the British had built.

**Impact on Economy** - When the British came to India, Indian economy, though technologically backwards, was self-sufficient and produced enough surplus to maintain a larger number of rulers and nobility in luxury, and financed perpetual wars.

This self-sufficiency of villages, with thriving cottage industries, and urban craftsmanship were destroyed. The peasants were forced to grow cashcrops and other items needed as raw materials for industries back in Britain. By exporting the raw materials, such as cotton and leather to Britain, the prices of local manufacture was forced to go up, and then flooding the Indian markets with cheaper mass produced items, they broke the backbone of economy. The peasants were further fleeced by the British-appointed *Zamindars*. Millions of craftsmen and other cottage industry workers had to rely on land as agricultural labourers, thus increasing the pressure on land. The peasantry in India was greatly impoverished.

**Industrialization** - Having thoroughly ruined the indigenous industries, the British started establishing industries in India, Jute and textile mills and coal mining were begun in the middle of 19th century. By the beginning of 20th century woolen textiles, paper and sugar mills, tanneries, matches and glass industries, and iron and steel works were started. Though all these had stunted growth and mainly favoured British interest, at least crumbs of Industrial-revolution in Europe were thrown to India.

**Transport and Communication** - One of the positive features of British rule was the development of transport and communication facilities. Railways, roadways, telegraph and telephone, postal services, newspapers, magazines, radio and cinema were new to Indian society. Although, again, planned and set up in a way to suit the British govt. these helped in uniting India as never before.

These means of transport and communication tightened govt. control over the masses, and increased the exploitation and oppression, though, at the same time the faster dissemination of news and views awakened among the people a new political consciousness. Even common man was in touch with the developments around the world.

**Education** - To the British also goes the credit of modernizing the educational system in India, particularly higher education. The Universities of Calcutta, Madras, Allahabad and Bombay were opened, followed by a spate of new colleges. In many districts Secondary Schools were established. The contents of the courses were highly pro-western. The educational policy of Lord Macauley in 1835 was aimed primarily at creating "Indian in Body and British in Mind", *trojan horses* who could act as Govt. agents to safeguard her interests and occupy the lower official jobs as clerks, in which they largely succeeded. But many of the educated Indians, imbued with western ideals of equality, rationality and individual freedom, came to the forefront of freedom struggle.

The present educational system in India still follows the pattern set by the British.

**Unification of India** - Except at brief intervals during the reigns of Ashoka and Akbar, India had never been politically united. Hundred of kingdoms, big and small, and princely states ruled over India. Pursuing their imperialist policy, the British started grabbing these through war by deceit, by threat and administrative reforms. When they left they ruled directly more than half of India and enjoyed suzerainty over the rest. The whole of India was under one administrative system, one law, one currency, India was truly unified.

**Administrative System** - The establishment of dyarchial system of government with its three branches - Legislative, Executive and Judiciary-existing today in India is also a positive impact of British rule. Right from supreme power of parliament down to the establishment of local self government in smaller urban centres, a heirarchical system of government was established with territorial range of authority. In order to make the administration more effective, a powerful bureaucracy was setup, with the members recruited from among the citizens. The establishment of Indian Civil Services, Indian Police Service, Indian Education Service, Indian Audit and Accounts Service etc. went a long way in bringing about competence and continuity in administration.

**Judiciary** - In earlier times, the law was established and broken at the whim and fancy of the rulers. Moreover the law had different interpretations for different strata of people. The British changed that Rule of Law. The law was codified and written. The Indian Penal Code is still operative in India. Moreover courts are established all over country - again on a heirarchical basis. There was one federal court (Supreme Court) with High Courts in the States, District Courts, Sub Divisional Courts etc. All this helped in bringing about uniformity in Judiciary all over the country. The modern police organization was also



established by the British.

**Social Life** - Indian social life had been beset with many evils-particularly so the position of women, child marriage, *sati* and *Purdah* system as well as female illiteracy. Female infanticide was rampant. The educated Indians particularly, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, organized social movements for their eradication. The British acceded. *Sati* system was abolished in 1829, child marriage in 1929, slavery in, 1843. Widow remarriage was legalised in 1856.

The opening of school, college, hostels, hotels, office, courts etc. where people from different walks of life came together and interacted helped in lessening the rigours of caste system particularly untouchability.

The British rule also created a large middle class in India with Western leanings and aspirations. Their life was and still is characterized by paradoxes - high ambitions but low position, desire to imitate the life style of the west but tied by socio-religious traditions of the east, wish to adopt higher standard of living but pulled down by lower income.

**Religion** - The Christian mission played a very important role in bringing about a change in religious beliefs and practices as well as outlook of educated Indians on religious matters in general. The missions spread throughout India, particularly tribal and other backward areas, started proselytization of tribals and other weaker sections on a large scale. The mass conversion of these people was brought about by both threats and inducements. But their one positive achievement was in the field of education. They opened a large number of schools in tribal areas which had so far been totally neglected by previous regimes.

The contact with British, like that of Islam earlier, caused yet another series of religious reforms. The strict Monotheism and less number of rituals impressed the educated Indians, who had already adopted the ideals of equality and liberty. Religious bigotry, superstitions and multiplicity of ritual requiring the services of priestly class were attacked. Higher philosophy of *Vedanta* was favoured. An effort was made to present the good and thought provoking aspects of Hinduism. The purpose was not only to truly modify the beliefs and practices of Hinduism but also to show to the world in general, and the Christians in particular, that Hinduism was not just a bundle of superstitions but a leading light on spiritualism. Islam, too, was not untouched.

**Brahma Samaj** - This was founded by the "Father of Modern India", Raja Ram Mohan Roy, synthesising the elements from *Upanishad*, Islam, Christianity and Liberalism. He advocated the concept of "One God of all humanity" irrespective of the religions. He condemned polytheism and idol-worship. His greatest contribution, however, was in social life where he relentlessly fought for the upliftment of women and eradication of evils of untouchability. On similar lines a *Prarthana samaj* was established in Bombay, 1867, supported by men like

Mahadeo Govind Ranade.

**Arya Samaj** - Founded in 1875 by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, who gave the call of return to the "*Vedas*". He believed that *Vedas* were infallible, and another forms of religion were degeneration from the purest form of *Vedas*. Repudiating the authority of the Brahmins, he also condemned ritualism and idol-worship. As Arya Samaj glorified the past, it represented more a revivalist trend.

**Ramakrishna Mission** - Ramakrishna Paramhansa wanted to revive all the best traditions of Hinduism and not just the *Veda*. He was a great scholar of *vedantic* philosophy. His disciple was the Great Vivekanand who founded Ramakrishna Mission. In his address at World Congress of Religions at Chicago in 1893, he asserted that *Vedanta* was the religion of all humanity and not just Hindus.

**Muslim Reforms** - The greatest bane of 19th Century Muslims was and to a large extent still is, the illiteracy, polygamy, *Purdah* system and very low position of women in society. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan believed that education alone was the means of progress. He reinterpreted Islam in the light of modern science and philosophy and liberal outlook and founded what was later to become Aligarh Muslim University. Though Sir Syed's stand on political issues became controversial, his contribution in awakening the Muslims is unquestioned.

These reform movements were country-wide, and appealed to the people all over the country. This created a sense of unity among the people and gave birth to nationalism in India.

**Language** - The introduction of English as medium of instruction by the British gave to India one language that was spoken and understood, at least by the literate, all over the country. Earlier, the lack of one common language had been a major deterrent in the growth of nationalism. This function it fulfills even today. All the political leaders and intellectuals were masters of English language and wrote in English. The writings of Jawahar Lal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi are but a few examples. Today, the English language occupies a predominant place in India and it is widely regarded as key to social and economic progress and status. There is a mad race among the people to educate their children in English medium schools.

Newspapers, magazines, periodicals, novels and stories published in English have the widest circulation and popularity. Truly, English language is one of the most important legacies of British.

**Dress** - Another aspect of Indian culture witnessing a radical change is dress pattern. Pant, shirt, coat, tie, cap or hat and shoes and socks have replaced *Dhoti*, *Pyjama*, *Kurta*, *Scarf*, *cummerbund*, *turban* and *sandal*. The dress of women too particularly of young girls, have changed. The use of skirt and blouse has become very popular. The Indians, particularly the urbanites, look up to the west for latest fashion in dress and designs.



**Music** - Indian classical music, based on *Sitar, Tabla, Harmonium, Veena* etc. was replaced by western music based on orchestra. Indian film songs and music are strongly influenced by Western music, style and instruments. Indian classical music is fast on the decline and is limited to a microscopic group of connoisseurs. Western Jazz, Pop, Rap and other music are on the lips of every urbanized India.

**History** - Until the British came very little was known about India's past. European scholars and enlightened govt officials made laudable efforts in rediscovering India's past. Ancient scripts were deciphered. "Asiatic Society of Bengal" was established by William Jones to study the antiquities and history of India. The Gupta and Maurya age were discovered. James Prinsep studied the inscriptions of Ashokan edicts. The study of Sanskrit was started with a scientific zeal. The ancient monuments, paintings and sculpture were preserved. Archaeological Survey of India was set up, opening a new horizon for the study of Indian history and civilization.

The knowledge of the glorious past gave a sense of pride to Indians and inspired them to struggle for independence and have a nationalistic outlook.

**Nationalism and Democracy** - All these developments in various aspects of Indian society and culture, led to a resurgence of a true nationalist feeling, which had been woefully lacking among the Indians before. The educated Indians, who supported British rule in the beginning as harbinger of peace, prosperity and modernization, began to understand the true nature of the govt. People from all over India, irrespective of caste, religion and language united for the common cause to save India. The establishment of Indian National Congress and Gandhi's leadership gave the necessary impetus. When the British came to India, they had to fight the Madrasis, the Bengalis, the Marathas, the Sikhs, the Moghals, the Rajputs etc. Who were divided. Now the British had to contend with only one, the Indians they were united.

Democracy is another important legacy of British rule to Indians. In fact the national freedom movement became a mass movement when it became clear that departure of British will usher in an Indian govt. formed and elected by the people, and that monarchy will not be thrust upon them once again.

We thus find that impact of Christianity and British rule had a far reaching and deep-rooted impact on every aspect of Indian Society and culture. All the previous impacts had been, comparatively, minor ones; a little reaction here, a little adjustment there. But the system had not changed. British rule changed the system itself-particularly political, educational, economic and technological. In this sense, the impact of Christianity was revolutionizing.

18th Nov 07

## Chapter 7

### GROWTH OF INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY

A number of Indian scholars at various times, have attempted to trace the growth of Anthropology in India. Mention can be made of the names of S.C. Roy (1921), D.N. Majumdar (1950-56), G.S. Ghurye (1956), S.C. Dubey (1952, 62), F.G. Bailey (1962), N.K. Bose (1963), L.P. Vidyarthi (1966, 72, 73, 76), Gopala Saran (1973) and Surajit Sinha (1968).

In 1921, S.C. Roy in his journal 'Man in India' first attempted to bring up a bibliographical account of the publications on tribal and caste studies in India. He classified them into three categories : (i) articles published in different journals and magazines, (ii) compilation of hand books gazetteers of the different regions (iii) monographs on exclusive tribes.

Later, in course of a memorial lecture in Nagpur University, Majumdar attempted to take a stock of anthropological researches in India. In his 1956 article, Majumdar attempted to assess the impact of British and American influences in Indian Anthropology. He observed, "Social Anthropology in India" has not kept pace with the developments in England in the European continent or in America. Although social anthropology in India are to some extent familiar with the works of important British anthropologist, or of some continental scholars, their knowledge of American social anthropology is not adequate." (1956 : 164)

Majumdar's observation is important in the sense that being a premier anthropologist of his time he very candidly admitted that the level of anthropological researches in India till the first half of the 20th century was not at par the British or the American Anthropology, although, it is true that the influences of American Anthropology in India began during the post independence era. During the pre independence era the Indian anthropologists were chiefly aware of the works of British anthropologists as there was colonial rule in the country.

G.S. Ghurye in his volume published by the UNESCO explained the status of anthropological & sociological teaching in different Universities of the country. According to him Bombay University was a centre for sociological studies, Calcutta and Madras Universities were the centres of Social Anthropological studies while Lucknow was a composite centre of Economics, Social Anthropological and Sociological studies. Vidyarthi observed that Ghurye:



"traces the initial stimuli to Cambridge for the development of Sociology and Anthropology in India." (1976 : 5)

S.C. Dubey also assessed the development of anthropology in India. First, in 1952, during the Fourth International Congress for Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in Vienna, he presented a paper entitled "The Urgent Tasks of Anthropology in India". In his paper Dubey made a reference to the unfortunate prejudice and distrust, of social workers and popular political leader towards anthropologists, and made out a case for the study of vanishing tribes, their folklore and art, village studies, caste dynamics etc. Without mentioning any particular name in his article Dubey certainly meant the attitude of social workers like A.V. Thakkar, popularly Known as 'Thakkar Bapa'. It is to be noted that Thakkar Bapa was quite averse to the concept of a 'National Park' for tribals as once suggested by Verrier Elwin. Later, in 1962 Dubey also highlighted the weaknesses of the contemporary Indian Social anthropology in terms of Techniques and Research Methodologies.

Regarding the affairs of Indian anthropology, F.G. Bailey's (1962) observations are also very pertinent. He observed, "In proportion to the richness of social anthropological laboratories situation that demands adequate research in the field of structural explanations of the complex societies, there have been inadequate studies done in India" (quoted from Vidyarthi 1976 : 6).

The patriarch of Indian anthropology Prof. N.K. Bose also attempted to review the progress of anthropology in India in 1963 and presented the material under three sections : (i) Prehistoric Anthropology (ii) Physical Anthropology (iii) Cultural Anthropology. Focussing upon researches in Cultural Anthropology, Bose enumerated the major researches done in the fields of (a) village studies (b) marriage and family and (c) caste. Prof. Bose, though, attempted to relate the various Indian social anthropologist in terms of the prevailing schools, but he mainly confined his discussion to his own concept of culture. In Vidyarthi's opinion, "Taken on the whole, Bose's appraisal of social anthropology in India is doubtlessly the latest and the more substantive, yet it remains incomplete as it only whets the appetite" (ibid).

## PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT

Of all the accounts of the growth of Indian anthropology, Majumdar's and Vidyarthi's deserve special attention to describe the different phases of the growth of Indian Anthropology. Both the authors have adopted the framework of T.K. Perryman's book 'Hundred Years of Anthropology' (1955). Perryman has divided the growth of World Anthropology into four periods, viz. (i) Formulatory period, (ii) Constructive period, (iii) Analytical period, and (iv) Critical period.

Borrowing Perrisman's terminology Majumdar (1950) divided anthropological researches in India into three phases. (i) Formulatory phase (1774-1919), (ii) Constructive phase (1920-1937), (iii) Critical phase (1938 on wards). ✓

Majumdar and Vidyarthi both agreed that the beginning of scientific traditions in India for the study of 'Nature and Man' was marked by the establishment of the then Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1774. However, such eminent scholars like D.N. Majumdar and L.P. Vidyarthi were, perhaps, unaware of the fact that Sir William Jones had established the 'Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal' in the year 1784. Although, Gopala Saran does not agree either with Majumdar or with Vidyarthi that the beginning of anthropological researches in India took place with the establishment of Asiatic Society but he also fails to give any precise and alternative date for it. According to both Majumdar and Vidyarthi the constructive phase of anthropology began in 1920. Both agree that with the establishment of Department of Sociology in Bombay University in 1919 and the Department of Anthropology in Calcutta University the constructive phase of Indian anthropology was initiated. However, according to Majumdar it lasted till 1938 when the Indian and British anthropologist met on the occasion of Silver Jubilee of Indian Science Congress in Lahore in 1938 and Planned jointly for future anthropological researches. Majumdar marked it as the beginning of the new era in anthropology. Henceforth, the Critical Phase started. Incidentally in 1937 Majumdar also published his problem-oriented monograph on the "HO" tribe of Singhbhum under the title, 'A Tribe in Transition : A Study in Culture Pattern'. It was also his Ph. D. thesis submitted to the University of Cambridge. Majumdar died without closing the date of critical phase of Indian anthropology.

Without any reservation whatsoever Vidyarthi's account of the growth of Indian anthropology is most exhaustive and widely accepted. From time to time Vidyarthi wrote several papers (1966, 72, 76) on this topic and at last comprehensive account of the growth of Indian anthropology was published in two volumes under the title "Rise of Anthropology in India" (1976). Vidyarthi divided the rise of Indian anthropology into three period viz. (i) Formative Period (1774?-1919) (ii) Constructive Period (1920-1949) and (iii) Analytical Period (1950 on wards).

## FORMATIVE PERIOD (1784-1919)

Sir William Jones established the Asiatic Society in 1784 and as its Founder President defined its scope as to study the 'Nature and Man' in India. After its establishment a number of British administrators, missionaries, travellers and a few other anthropologically oriented individuals collected data on tribal and rural groups and wrote about their life and culture in journals of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Indian Antiquary (1872), and later in the journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1915) and Man in India (1921). (Ibid.)



The prominent British administrators who wrote anthropologically oriented papers and monographs were Risley, Dalton, O'Malley in East India, Russel in Middle India, Therston in South India and Crooks in North India. Besides them, Shakespeare, Garden Hills, Grigson, Budding, Rivers, Seligman, Redcliff-Brown Hutton, Campbell and Briggs also wrote important handbooks and monographs.

During the Formative years only two Indian anthropologists deserve mention. All time important S.C. Roy produced monumental monographs on some of the tribes of South Bihar such as the 'Munda and Their Country (1912), Oraon of Chhotanagpur (1915), The Birhore (1925), Oraon Religion and Customs (1920), Hill Bhuiyas (1935) and Kharias (1937)'. Beside these monumental monographs which will serve as the base line while studying the Indian Munda, the Oraon, the Kharia, the Birhore etc., Shri Roy was the first Indian to publish a research journal in anthropology of international standard and repute viz. *Man in India*. The publication of this journal began from Ranchi in 1921. In recognition of his works, Hutton in his presidential address read at the annual meeting of the Indian Anthropological Institute held in Calcutta on Jan.5, 1938 conferred the title of "The Father of Indian Ethnology" upon late Rai Bahadur Sharat Chandra Roy.

According to Vidyarthi "Next to Roy, R.P. Chand Published his book in 1916 on the 'Indo Aryan Race' which evoked great interest in the cultural history of India" (Ibid).

Thus, during the formative period not only the foundations of anthropological researches in India were laid down but very significant monographs covering different castes and tribes were also written Primarily by the Britishers. These pioneering monographs even today serve as the baseline data for a researcher.

The emergence of S.C. Roy was a unique achievement of this period. Roy was an English graduate from Calcutta University. After having obtained the degree of Law, he settled at Ranchi-the headquarters of hilly and forested districts of Chhotanagpur in Bihar, where even today, out of twenty nine tribes of the state twenty five of them live. Shri Roy was an advocate. He interacted with the native people of connection with legal affairs. This aroused in him interest in the native's traditions. During his frequent visit to England he met the then scholars of Anthropology of Oxford and Cambridge like Sir James Frazer, A.C. Haddon and W.H.R. Rivers etc.

Roy brought international repute to Indian by his selection as a member of the Council De-Honour of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. In Roy's works complete British influence is reflected.

According to Sahay (1981 a : 241), "The greatest contribution that Roy made to Indian anthropology was his persistently stimulating and persuading Shri Ashutosh Mukherjee to intimate anthropological studies at the university level at Calcutta in 1921. It was certainly a landmark in the history of social science in

India. Today Roy is remembered as a meticulous monographer, author of several papers, editor of an epoch-making anthropological journal 'Man in India' and also as a teacher and supervisor of anthropological researches. It was Roy who initiated several professional anthropologists including late D.N. Majumdar into ethnographic studies of several tribes of Bihar and Orissa. After Roy's death the rich traditions in anthropology established by him were to some extent maintained by D.N. Majumdar.

Thus Roy dominated the Indian anthropological scene for over three and a half decades. However, we find that his works were purely of monographic nature in the line of Imperial anthropology. He did not initiate any conceptual framework in anthropological investigation. It was perhaps so because he lived at a time when anthropology in India was still in its nascent form. The diversification and proliferation of this discipline had not taken place in India. Yet Roy, though, living in such a small town like Ranchi led the very social foundation of anthropological researches in India. (Ibid).

### CONSTRUCTIVE PERIOD (1920-49)

The opening of department of Sociology in 1919 at the Bombay University and the department of Anthropology in Calcutta University in 1920 are considered to be two important landmark in the history of development of social science in India. According to Vidyarthi, "These two centres for sociological and anthropological researches ..... attracted academicians and trained scholars to undertake significant researches." From these two institutions the following founding fathers of professional sociological and anthropological researches emerged viz., G.S. Ghurye, K.P. Chattopadhyay, M.N. Shrinivas, D.N. Majumdar, Irawati Karve, P.N. Mishra, L.K.A. Iyyer, T.C. Das, A. Ayappan etc. It is for this reason that Majumdar and Vidyarthi both considered 1920 to be the beginning of the constructive phase of anthropological researches in India. Close on the heels of these two land marks, Roy founded the first journal of anthropology that is 'Man in India' in 1921.

Next important date in the history of anthropological development in India happens to be 1938 when, "A big leap came forward when joint session of the Indian Sciences Congress Association and the British association, on the occasion of Silver Jubilee of the former Body, reviewed the progress of Anthropology in India and eminent anthropologists abroad deliberated with Indian anthropologists and discussed plans for future anthropological researches in India." (ibid.).

All this happened in 1938. At the same time D.N. Majumdar also released his problem oriented book on the changing 'Ho' of Singhbhum. In 1942 Srinivas published 'Marriage and Family' in Mysore and N.K. Bose in 1941 brought out 'Hindu Methods of Tribal Absorption'.



During the constructive period one of the most controversial figures of Indian anthropology also entered the scene. It was none other than Verrier Elwin. Elwin wrote on the tribes of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa like 'The Baiga' (1969), 'The Agarja' (1943), 'The Maria' (1943), 'The Maria Ghotul' (1947) and then on the religion of 'Sawara of Orissa' (1957).

It was in 1939 while writing on 'Baiga' Elwin suggested, "the establishment of a sort of 'National Park' in which not only the Baiga but the thousands of simple Gond might take refuge".

Though Elwin proposed such an approach of keeping the tribals in 'National Parks' with his best of intentions but infact it created a stir in the hornet's nest. From all corners the anthropologists were dubbed as 'Isolationists' and social workers and political leaders launched a crusade against anthropologists. As a result, Elwin ultimately changed his stance in 'The Philosophy of NEFA' (1959) and clarified the misconception created in the minds of the social workers with regard to his approach to the tribal culture and emphasized upon the need for a careful planning.

On the whole, during this period Anthropology in India was pursued in the lines of colonial anthropology. In Vidyarthi's opinion 'Indian anthropology (during this period) was characterized by ethnological monographic studies with a special emphasis on researches in kinship and social organizations'.

#### ANALYTICAL PERIOD (1950-1970)

Majumdar's critical period and Vidyarthi's analytical period began in 1938 and in 1950 respectively. Both the doyens of Indian anthropology of their times left this period open.

Vidyarthi wrote the 'Tribal Culture of India' in 1976. Two decades have already passed thereafter and we are at the threshold of the 21st century. Within the last two decades much water has flown down the Ganges. A number of young scholars have joined the arena of Indian anthropology and a number of old guards of this discipline have left for their heavenly abodes. Therefore, it is necessary to take a stock of the development of anthropology during the last two decades.

Before we embark upon discussing the growth of Indian anthropology since 1976, it would be pertinent to look at how Vidyarthi had summed up its growth between 1950 to 1976.

Vidyarthi has rightly considered this period as analytic because Indian anthropology made a complete departure from its earlier stance during this very period. Prior to independence Indian anthropology was completely influenced by British anthropology. After second World War, U.S.A. became not only an economic and Military superpower, but also the centre of all round scientific and

academic pursuits. The discipline of anthropology also remained no exception to the rule.

During 1950s to 70s cultural anthropology was dominated by American anthropologists like Robert Redfield, Julian Stewart, Sol Tax, Lessley White, Clifford Geertz, Mariam Harris etc. During this period the anthropologists of the Third World ambitiously tried to be associated with American Universities. From India the first generation of anthropologists after independence also received training in different American Universities. Thus, the interaction between Indian anthropologist and their American counterparts started at a large scale. The result of this interaction was the development of a number of conceptual tools for the study of Indian castes, tribes, villages, religion, politics etc.

The concept of sanskritization and dominant caste group by M.N. Srinivas, the concept of tribe-caste-continuum by F.G. Bailey, Surajit Sinha and Sachidanand, the concept of sacred complex and Nature-Man-Spirit complex by L.P. Vidyarthi, the concepts of Universalization and parochialization by Mac Marriot, the study of Indian Villages by S.C. Dubey and others were but the results of interaction between Indian and American anthropologists.

It is to be noted that during the 1950s and 60s Robert Redfield, Sol Tax and Julian Stewart were quite influencing figures in World Anthropology. In Vidyarthi's sacred complex and Nature-Man-Spirit one can clearly observe the influences of Robert Redfield and Julian Stewart respectively; Tribe-Caste Continuum is only an extension of Folk-Urban Continuum of Robert Redfield similarly the universalization and Parochialization are only offshoots of Redfield's little and great traditions; the studies of Indian Villages by a number of anthropologist were also inspired by Redfield's and Oscar Lewis's studies of village Tipozlan in 1930 and in 1950 respectively.

Sol tax also influenced Indian anthropology during this period. A number of experiments on applied and action anthropology as initiated by Sol Tax were carried out by such anthropology as L.P. Vidyarthi and P.K. Bhowmick in India.

Thus after 1950 the interests of Indian anthropologists also shifted from Oxford Cambridge and London of Chicago, Harvard, California, Illinois and Cornell universities. It is significant to note that Morris Opler of Cornell, Oscar Lewis of Illinois and David Mandelbaum of California universities visited India with their students to do anthropological researches in different fields during this period.

Vidyarthi (1976 : 14) has summed up the major works of this period as follows, "Some American anthropologists ..... came and stayed in India with their research teams and created an atmosphere (i) for the systematic study of Indian village with a view to testing certain hypothesis, (ii) For refining some of the



methodological frame works developed elsewhere (iii) to assist the Community Development Programmes (Of the Government of India) in Indian Villages" Vidyarthi has categorized the major works of this period under the following headings.

(i) *Village and Case Studies* : Chiefly done by Dubey, Majumdar, Srinivas and Iravati Karve-the important being 'Srinivas' Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India (1952) and Karve's 'Hindu Kniship System' (1958).

(ii) *Action Research* : Under the influence of Sol Tax Action Research studies were carried on in India by Dubey (1960), E. V. Srinivas (1950), Vidyarthi (1953, 63, 68, 72), Bhaumik (1970, 81).

(iii) *Socio Psychological Research* : Under the auspices of Anthropological Survey of India and under the guidance of B.S. Guha a number of researches on culture and personality of tribals with a view to establishing racial differences, personality types and other socio- psychological characteristics, were done. In this aspect the Psychology Department of Ranchi and Allahabad Universities under the leadership of Prof. A.K. Singh and Prof. Durga Nand Sinha, Respectively did some commendable works.

(iv) *Folklore Researches* : It can be said that folklore researches in India has still not come of age, as it had been in U.S.A. under the leadership of Franz Boas. However, Dr. Shanker Sen Gupta has been published a research journal named 'Folklore' for a long time from Calcutta. In the recent years besides anthropologists some historians also started paying attention to the studies of folklore. Their idea is that verifiable historicity of any social or historical event can be restored from the analysis of folksongs and folktales. For example the Britishers describes Babu Kunwar Singh of Bihar as a *Bagi* - a fugitive or traitor. But only the folksongs and folktales of the region described what a patriot Babu Kunwar Singh was of the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, in the recent years the study of folklore has attracted the attention of social scientists of different branches.

(v) *Studies of Power Structure and Leadership* : It was Prof. Oscar Lewis with his Indian collaborators first initiated the study of faction and leadership in some north and south Indian villages. In this regard Prof. Vidyarthi's study of the "Dynamics of Tribal Leadership in Bihar" (1973) is worth mentioning. This study was sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Sciences Research.

Besides the aforesaid topics the anthropologist in India during the analytical period continued to study the religion, structure and change in Indian villages as also the urban studies. In the field of urban studies mention can be made of the studies of Calcutta by N.K. Bose (1958), of Kanpur by D.N. Majumdar (1961) of Lucknow by Mukherjee and Singh (1961) and of

Gaya and Ranchi by Vidyarthi in 1961. Many of these studies were sponsored by the Planning Commission of India.

While discussing about the growth of anthropology in India it is important to note that not only the U.G.C, the Indian Council of Social Science Research, the Ministry of Home Affairs and later the Ministry of Human Resources and Development encouraged sponsored the eminent anthropologist to carry out the researches in different field of anthropology, but a number of Tribal Research and Development Institutions were established in different states to promote anthropological researches.

It is to be noted that in the above paragraphs only the growth of Cultural Anthropology in India has been Discussed. While it is true that the other branches of anthropology such as the Physical Anthropology, Archeological anthropology etc. also developed during this period considerably. However, there has not been a comprehensive account of the development of other branches of anthropology.

It is also to be noted that all the accounts of growth of Cultural Anthropology in India by different scholars are based upon Vidyarthi's writings, two decades have passed ever since Vidyarthi published 'Tribal Culture of India' (1976). We have noted earlier that Vidyarthi left the date of analytical period open. Prof. Vidyarthi died in 1985. His premature death did not allow him to further elaborate the growth of Indian anthropology after 1976. In our opinion the analytical period of anthropology in India which began in 1950 as proposed by Vidyarthi ended in 1978. With the holding of the Xth ICAES in New Delhi with Prof. Vidyarthi as its president. Thereafter the critical period of Indian anthropology begins.

#### CRITICAL PERIOD, (1978....)

What is meant here by 'Critical Period' in anthropology is certainly different from what has been meant by T.K. Perreyman and D.N. Majumdar. By critical period is meant here "the period of grave uncertainty" of Indian anthropology.

While it is true that after 1976 some important landmarks have been made in Indian anthropology, but hardly any new concept or theory has been introduced during the last two decades. All the prevailing concepts such as sanskritization, westernization, modernization, universalization, parochialization, dominant caste group, Tribe-caste-continuum, sacred complex on the nature-man-spirit-complex were chiefly the products of 1950s and 60s of Indian anthropology. There has been almost a vacuum with regard to conceptual and theoretical works thereafter.

In 1978, the greatest show and extravagnza of anthropology in India took place at New Delhi. It was the occasion of Xth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. Hitherto, it was the greatest anthropological event in India approximately three thousand two hundred



delegates of India and abroad assembled in New Delhi, Vigyan Bhawan to witness the congress to be inaugurated by the then Prime Minister Mr. Morarji Desai, the post plenary sessions were held thereafter in different parts of the country where the Dept. of anthropology imparted teaching and researches.

The Xth ICAES was also significant because ever since its inception in 1934, it was for the first time the Congress was held in any Third World Country under the presidency of Third World Anthropologist. Prof. L.P. Vidyarthi was elected the president of the Xth IUAES and ICASES in 1973 at Chicago. Thus the analytical period of anthropology in India prevailed from 1950-78 during which a number of theoretical and conceptual studies were done.

Regarding the growth of cultural anthropology in India after 1978 there has been no comprehensive account till this date. While it is true that altogether thirty three universities of the country are such where anthropological teaching and researches are being carried out and every year a good number of Ph.D. degrees are being awarded, it is equally true that qualitatively the anthropological researches in the country have gone down considerably.

The development of any branch of science, to a large extent, depends upon the development of theoretical and conceptual frameworks in it. Where as in the western world, during the last one hundred and fifty years, a lot of theories and concepts at the highest degree of abstraction have been brought out in anthropology, the Indian anthropology has been lagging far behind. We have earlier noted that whatever the level of abstractions in the studies of Indian society were achieved, it was between 1950-1970, particularly by the contribution of Prof. S.N. Srinivas and Prof. L.P. Vidyarthi.

During the last two decades perhaps the maximum number of Ph.Ds. have been awarded in anthropology in India. Recently a survey was conducted by the Dept. of anthropology, University of Allahabad regarding the status of social cultural anthropology in India. It was sponsored by the University-Grants-Commission. The survey revealed that most of the researches were done on Applied anthropological aspects. And secondly, most of the Ph.Ds. Were methodologically unsound and were obtained by non-professional anthropologist. It indicates that highly professional anthropological researches are not being carried out by the different departments of anthropology of Indian Universities. It also suggests that because of over emphasis on the applied aspect, the fundamental researches in anthropology in India has today relegated into oblivion. It is one good reason why after 1970 no theoretical and conceptual development has taken place in Indian anthropology. Therefore, it is today apprehended that at the threshold of the 21st century the Indian anthropology has been facing a grave crisis. Unless the fundamental researches in socio-cultural

anthropology are adequately carried out the future of anthropology in India in 21st century appears to be bleak.

There are some exceptions of course. For example B.N. Saraswati (1984) has done some significant works on the various dimensions of Indian civilization. Although in the opinion of some anthropologists his interpretations of Indian civilization makes it more ambiguous than it is commonly understood. In the field of studies on ethnicity Prof. A.K. Danda (1980-81) has significant contributions. Dr. P.K. Singh (1981) has added a new dimension to the study of Nature-Man-Spirit complex by introducing a mathematical computation that Nature-Man-Spirit complex is concept. It is one of the significant conceptual developments in Indian anthropology during the post analytical period. Barring these exceptions there is a dearth of theoretical and conceptual development in Indian anthropology during the last two decades. Therefore, this period may be termed as a critical period in the sense that Indian anthropology is theoretically and conceptually passing through a grave crisis.

Thus, on the one hand qualitative researches in anthropology have gone down, nevertheless, quantitative researches are on the increase. An anthropological organisation of the world i.e., Anthropological Survey of India, under the banner of 'Peoples of India Project'

### THE PEOPLES OF INDIA PROJECT

It was launched on October 2, 1985. The objective of the project was to present in brief but descriptive anthropological profile of all communities of India, study the impact of changes and development processes on these communities and highlight the linkages that bring them together. It is to be noted that the listing of different communities in India began during the colonial period and in 1806 first such attempt was undertaken on an extensive scale. This process later gathered momentum in course of the censuses of 1881 to 1941. The Anthropological Survey of India while compiling the list of communities took the help of early ethnographic surveys, the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes drawn by the Govt. of India and the lists of Backward Classes prepared by Backward Classes Commission set-up by various state governments and the list that existed in Mandal Commission Report. Thus under the Peoples of India Project 6,748 communities were initially identified. However, when this list was taken to the field, tested and verified finally 4,635 communities were identified and studied. Methodologically it was decided to start with the investigations of the least known communities and then move on to the field study of the lesser-known and better-known ones.

Between 2nd Oct. 1985 of 31st March 1992, 4,635 communities in all the states and union territories of India were identified located and studied. During this period as many as 6,000 scholars participated in this project. About 100



workshops and discussion sessions were held in all the states and union territories in which over 3000 scholars participated. The research investigators spent 26,510 days in the field which works out to 5.5 days per community studied. The Scholars interviewed a large number of people of which 24,951 were key informants. This works out about 5 'Informed' informants per community. Of the Informants 4,981 were women. Interviews were conducted in 3,581 villages and in 1,011 towns and cities spread over all the districts of India i.e. 421 districts and 91 cultural regions. During the Project work 4,000 maps showing the distribution and location of the communities were prepared and in all 21,362 photographs were taken by amateur photographers. The descriptive material runs into 120 manuscript volumes and the quantitative data are contained in 257 diskettes.

Howsoever tall the claims of the Anthropological Survey of India might be, but it is also true that this mega project has received serious criticisms from scholarly communities. It is alleged that very scanty and superficial data is available in the publications of Peoples of India Project. It is also said that the serious fieldwork was not conducted during the data collection for the project and above all it was merely in ethnographic exercise, not analytical and interpretative.

At this juncture of Indian anthropology the opinion of Honnigman (1976) appeared to be very significant. He observes that more prosperous, and fertile civilizations existed in India and China prior to the Greek and Roman civilization. He summarised that if the ancient scriptures of these two civilizations were properly assessed one could discover new anthropological light. It is also significant to note that India alone represents all cradles of civilizations. On the one hand, we have the Jarwas and Sentinelese in the Andaman representing the old stone age culture, on the other hand highly industrialized cultures can also be found here. As far as the tribal population is concerned India would rank only next to the continent of Africa. All these amply suggest that there is immense potential of anthropological researches in India. Instead of merely borrowing and applying western anthropological models and approaches to the studies of Indian society and culture indigenous models and forms of thought could be developed in India, by raising the level of abstraction in anthropological researches through appropriate methodologies.

It is only hoped that the period of crisis of fundamental researches in social and cultural anthropology in India would be overone in the next century.

9th Dec-07  
20th March-08

## Chapter 8

### MAJOR CONCEPTS IN INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY

#### DOMINANT CASTE

Caste system is a dominant feature of Indian society. It is the basis of almost all economic, social, political and religious interactions, which is mainly evident in villages. However, it is the hierarchical feature of caste system which is particularly interesting and complicated. Each caste has a specific status and is ascribed a position in the hierarchy, which may vary from region to region. The position of only two castes do not change the highest and the lowest, the Brahmins and the untouchables. The position immediately below the Brahmin is the most coveted as it carries with it considerable social and ritual prestige and influence. In any village or a group of villages many castes compete to occupy this position which allows them dominance over other castes in every aspect of life.

M.N. Srinivas (1959) proposed the concept of Dominant Caste. This caste controls the economic activity of the village, is the centre of social life, a repository of political power and a model of emulation for the lower castes. According to him.

"A Caste may be said to be dominant when it preponderates numerically over the other castes, and when it also wields preponderant economic and political power. A large and powerful caste can more easily be dominant, if its position in the local caste hierarchy is not too low."

Thus Srinivas suggests four factors which are important for a caste to become dominant.

- ✓ (a) Numerical preponderance
- ✓ (b) Economic power
- ✓ (c) Political power
- ✓ (d) Socio-religious status.

Though the criteria proposed by Srinivas appears to be simple, it sometimes becomes difficult to identify a dominant caste, because it is rare to find a caste to dominate in all four spheres. It also poses certain important questions. In how many spheres must a caste dominate for it to be considered a dominant caste? Is economic dominance sufficient or must it be supplemented by political power also? or vice-versa? If an "untouchable" caste dominates in numerical, economic and political spheres, can it become a dominant caste?



1. Numerical Strength -- The population size of a caste in a village or region is, obviously, important for dominance. A caste with very few members will certainly be at disadvantage, specially when two or more castes are closely competing. Still, numerical preponderance is not found to be a major factor of dominance. In only a few villages are dominant castes also numerically in a majority. Usually, they do not constitute more than 25-30% of village population. Although we do not have large number of village studies to come to a definite conclusion, we may consider the cases of 14 villages reported in two of the most important books on village studies - Srinivas' "India's Villages" and Marriott's "Village India".

Though these 14 villages cannot be said to be representatives of Indian villages, nor even of their regions, they may show the trends at least. Ten of the 14 villages belong to North India, four to the South India. In the North in only 3 out of 14 villages the dominant caste is also the largest caste, while in South in 3 out of 4 villages the dominant caste is also the largest. Largest means larger than the other castes individually, but not necessarily in a majority in the village as a whole. It would appear that numerical preponderance is more important in South India (75%) than in North India (30%). On all-India basis 42.85% villages have the dominant caste also the largest caste.

Although these 14 cases prove, or disprove nothing it can be safely concluded that numerical preponderance is an important, but not a decisive factor. Evidently there are other powerful factors which make a caste dominant.

2. Economic Power - In an economic system mainly dependent on agriculture for survival, the possession or control of arable land is decidedly advantageous. The landowner, naturally, holds maximum leverage in dispensing favours. He is in a position to determine who shall, or shall not, work in his fields, supply him with tools and implements, tend to his cattle etc. More than half of the village population is landless and dependent upon *lajmans* to sell their services for livelihood. Moreover, as this livelihood is able to barely maintain them at subsistence level, they are also dependent on those who can lend them cash to meet the expenses related to life cycle rituals - births, marriages and deaths, and festivals.

Control of land and moneylending, thus, are the two levers of power in a village. In the fourteen cases referred to above, the relationship between land-holding and caste dominance is conclusively established. Without a suitable exception, the landowners are the dominant caste also, be they the Jats of Ranikhera (U.P.), Thakurs of Madhopur (U.P.), Brahmins of Karimpur (U.P.), Warriors of Bisipara (Orissa), Nayars of Kerala, Reddis of Shamirpet (A.P.) etc.

Money lending is also important. Many castes, who have some members employed in urban centres and send cash back to village, or engaged in trading outside village, use the cash for moneylending, and are able to challenge the dominance of the dominant castes.

The economic power, thus, is the single most important factor of caste dominance.

3. Political Power - Both land-holding and money-lending as levers of power, are exploitative in nature and carry within them the seeds of revolt by the exploited. It is essential to supplement the economic power with political power to maintain and perpetuate the dominance. And it has never been very difficult either. Traditionally, caste panchayats have held sway over its members by dreaded power of excommunication. By aiding and favourably treating the caste leaders, the dominant castes maintained their political supremacy as well. In fact it is their patronage which decided who would be the caste leader in the first place. In this set up the untouchables did not have any say at all.

With the introduction of modern democratic panchayats after independence the political structure changed slightly. New locus of power, with universal adult suffrage, has upset the dominant caste's political applecart. Their initial response was to deprive the lower caste people their right to vote, and when it could not be done, to deny them the recognition, as in the case of Chamars of Madhopur (Cohn, 1954). This case also establishes that political power, though important in its own right, is not sufficient to confer dominance, and must be supplemented by economic power.

4. Socio-religious status - It is here that we are confronted with a paradox - the high socio-religious status of the Brahmins even without economic and political power, and the low status of the untouchables inspite of recent affluence and political superiority.

Bailey (1960) reports that though the Boad outcastes of Bisipara in Orissa have acquired wealth and become prosperous, they are unable to do away with outcaste status. Chamars of Madhopur in U.P. (Cohn, ibid) could not retain political superiority even after winning majority in Panchayat, because the dominant castes, the Rajputs, boycotted them and the other castes did not support them.

It appears, thus, that the two extremes of caste hierarchy, the top (Brahmins) and the bottom (untouchables) are beyond this theory of dominance. It is also clear that in order for a caste to achieve the high status of a Dominant Caste, it must have a certain minimum to begin with. It must be on the right side of the pollution barrier.

The above formulation of Srinivas, and the determination of dominant caste, is true essentially in a traditional set up. Since independence, new factors have become equally important and are instrumental in the emergence of new patterns of caste dominance. Some of these are urbanization and industrialization, reservation of SC, ST and OBC in economic, political and educational spheres. Panchayati Raj, growth of educational opportunities and alternative means of employment in service.

Some castes which had been previously dominant are no longer so, while many



"service" castes are becoming dominant due to political power, or patronage, and greater economic security. Moreover, now-a-days, political power, at whatever level, can easily lead to economic power, the two determinants of dominance.

S.C. Dubey (1968) is a bit circumspect about this concept. In his view, a caste can be said to be dominant only if there is diffusion of power, exercised in the interest of the whole group, a strong feeling of group unity, and an integral sense of direction. When, in a so called dominant caste, inequalities of wealth, prestige, and power are pronounced, and where dominant individuals exploit the weaker elements in their own caste, it will be inappropriate to call it a dominant caste. The fact that a number of dominant individuals occupy most of the power positions is not enough to characterize a caste as dominant.

F.G. Bailey (1960) considers "regional dominance" a better perspective for understanding a caste dominance rather than village dominance, because it is too limited in scope. Only if a caste is dominant in a number of contiguous villages, should it be called dominant.

### NATURE-MAN-SPIRIT COMPLEX - by VIDYARTHI

The ecological approach in Anthropology took many shapes, cultural ecology being one of the more influential among them. This approach suggested possibilism that environment facilitates, conditions, and places limitations in the development of culture rather than absolutely determining them. Interaction between Man and Nature became the focus of study, and a useful model to understand the growth and diversity in culture. Vidyarthi added another dimension the religion to make the approach complete.

Vidyarthi's concept of Nature-Man-Spirit Complex arose from the practical exigency of arranging the data in such a way as to depict the soul of a culture instead of just the skeleton, and signalled an interesting departure from the established tradition of writing a monograph.

He described the concept in his "The Maler : A study in Nature-Man-Spirit Complex" (1963). The Maler is a tribe (also known as Souria Paharia) inhabiting the Rajmahal hills, in Santhal Parganas of Bihar. The book was divided into three parts with the headings Nature, Man and Spirit respectively. While analysing his data he discovered that the three ingredients of the complex are interdependent and mutually complimentary, and also that every moment of Maler life was profoundly influenced by nature on the one hand and spirit on the other. The three, in fact, are so closely inter-related, interwoven, inter-dependent that the existence of one simply cannot be thought of in the absence of another.

In the first part, the nature, he shows the importance of hills and forests as well as swidden cultivation (Khallu) around which the entire Maler life revolves. Vidyarthi asserts that Maler culture originated, developed and flourished in the

lap of nature. They are surrounded by forests, which in addition to providing land for slash-and-burn (Swidden) cultivation. The forests also provides them with food, drink, shelter, medicines, raw materials for cottage industries, fuel-wood, love-nests and graveyard. The hills and forests are also the abode of gods, the symbol of gods, and many of the gods themselves.

In the second part, Man, Vidyarthi examines the network of relationships in all its aspect, the organization of family, different social institutions, and the life cycle of a typical Maler. He asserts that on average Maler is motivated by two basic drives, hunger for food and sex. The interpersonal relations have been arranged in adaptation to the exploitation of resources, satisfaction of sex, child rearing etc.

In the third part, the spirit, Vidyarthi describes the religious beliefs of the Maler, who believe in numerous spirits representing natural forces called gossaiyan, some benevolent and some malevolent. Every action of the Maler life, every moment of his existence is related to some gossaiyan or other, who are supposed to hold sway over the destiny of the people, particularly in term of food and health. The hills, forests, trees, boulders, springs, Sun etc., as well as dead ancestors are interwoven in the belief system. The religious practices are related to every aspect of man's interaction with environment and economic activity.

Thus we find that the three parts not only describe the whole gamut of Maler culture but viewed as a whole - a complex - clearly demonstrate the functional interrelationship between various components of a culture. These constantly strive and strike a balance - an equilibrium - so that the culture may exist and persist.

An example of what may happen if a change in any one aspect is introduced without taking into consideration the whole - the complex - was provided by Maler themselves. As part of tribal development programme, the govt. built permanent brick house colonies in the foot hills and some land in the plains for settled agriculture, with cash incentives. Very few Maler families occupied these houses and they, too, went back after some time mainly because the new life was against the deep rooted belief system. They felt that their gossaiyan will be angry if left alone and will cause miseries and calamities.

This shows that any attempt to disturb the equilibrium of Man, natural and super natural forces will meet with failure, unless alternative set is not provided.

The concept, thus, is important theoretically for Development Anthropology and practically for planners and executives associated with Tribal Development.

Other Studies - After Vidyarthi, many scholars also examined the concept, in different ecological settings. Dr. V.S. Sahay (1981) studied the Nicobarese of Andaman & Nicobar Islands. In this entirely different setting - a forest island surrounded by sea - Sahay finds similar forces operating. The Nicobarese grow



coconut, arecandi, banana, yam etc. in small gardens around their settlement; and capture fish, turtle etc. from the sea with the help of small canoes they themselves construct. The family size is typically small. All the fortunes and misfortunes are attributed to benevolent and malevolent spirits, who hover around the hills, forests and sea. Like Maler, blood sacrifice of pig and fowl is essential to propitiate the spirit. In short, he says, that Nature-Man-Spirit Complex is the only model which can best describe the essence of Nicobarese Culture.

Similar conclusions were also drawn after the study of Parahiya of Bihar by R.K. Prasad (1981), Soliga of Karnataka by S.G. Morab, Onge of Andamans by R.S. Mann, Pando of M. P. by R.K. Sinha, Kinner of Himachal Pradesh by Ramesh Chandra and Kurmi of Chhotanagpur by Prabhat K. Singh (1986) etc.

### MATHEMATICAL COMPUTATION

But all these studies were synchronic, providing photographic description of the cultures so to speak, and, though they proved the verifiability and applicability of the concept, they could not show that it was consistent in time dimension also.

P.K. Singh (1981) re-examined the concept in his restudy of Maler. He studied the same villages that Vidyarthi did two decades ago.

He concluded that inspite of many changes in Maler life due to various processes and factors of change, the concept was valid in time dimension as well; and that the complex has not changed. After analysing the various changes in Maler life and the resultant equilibrium, Singh goes on to prove that the Nature-Man-Spirit complex cannot change. It is a constant! With the help of a mathematical computation he has shown that the Nature-Man-Spirit Complex is not just a concept to understand the culture of a primitive society, but may well be a law of cultural development. It is not possible to give a detailed exposition here, we shall only see the formulation in its barest outline, as follows.

Singh divided the concept in terms of dependence of mutual interaction. Thus Nature-Man-Spirit Complex may be viewed as man's dependence on Nature, Man's dependence on fellow men and man's dependence on spirit or gods. All these relationships are functionally related in such a way that any change in one aspect invariably leads to changes in other aspects that is, whenever the equilibrium is disturbed by changing one aspect, other aspects try to adjust in such a way as to restore the equilibrium.

Now, man interacts with nature with the aid of his productive technology. The lower the efficiency of the productive technology a society employs, lesser will be energy output, hence greater will be their dependence upon nature. The hunter gatherers are more dependent upon nature than horticulturalist, who in turn are more dependent than agriculturists and industrialists. In all these cases, there

is progressive development in efficiency of productive technology. Therefore, with every change in the efficiency of productive technology, there is a corresponding change in man's dependence upon environment, and it is inversely proportional.

So, If technology is 't'

and dependence upon environment is 'e'

then

$$t \propto \frac{1}{e} \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

Again, an increase in the efficiency of productive technology entails more energy output, larger food supply, larger population and more heterogeneity and internal differentiation into society. Society is divided into a number of groups with specialization in function and division of labour. Society now can exist only by natural-co-operation. Man's network of relationships becomes wider. In other words man's dependence upon man is greater. So, with every change in the relationship between man and environment, there is a change in the man to man relationship, which is also inversely proportional.

If man's dependence upon man is 'r'

$$e \propto \frac{1}{r} \dots\dots\dots (2)$$

Again, when man's relationship with environment and his fellowmen changes there is also a corresponding change in the man's perception of, and relations with his gods also changes. Increasingly greater proportion of supernatural world become a part of natural phenomena. Rites and rituals assume social significance. Attributes of gods and deities changes and they become more concerned with social relationships. His dependence upon god lessens.

So, with every change in man's relationship with his environment, and also in the man to man relationship, there is a corresponding change in man's relationship with his supernatural world, his gods and spirits, and this is also inversely proportional.

if dependence upon god is 'g'

$$r \propto \frac{1}{g} \dots\dots\dots (3)$$

and

$$t \propto \frac{1}{g} \dots\dots\dots (4)$$



Now, From (1), (2), (3), (4)

$$i \propto \frac{1}{e} \rightarrow i \times e = k_1$$

$$e \propto \frac{1}{r} \rightarrow e \times r = k_2$$

$$\frac{1}{g} \rightarrow r \times g = k_3$$

$$i \propto \frac{1}{g} \rightarrow i \times g = k_4$$

$$\text{or } i \times e \times e \times r \times r \times g \times i \times g = k_1 \times k_2 \times k_3 \times k_4$$

$$\text{or } i^2 \times e^2 \times r^2 \times g^2 = k_1 \times k_2 \times k_3 \times k_4$$

$$\text{or } i \times e \times r \times g = k \text{ (a constant)}$$

Thus, the contents of nature-man-spirit complex may change through time, the complex remains constant.

Singh adds that past trends reveal that values of 'e' and 'g' are decreasing while the values of 'i' and 'r' are increasing in every society. If methodology is developed to measure the values of i, e, r, g, the level of a given culture can be known. It will also be possible to predict the future course and level of development of a culture when new technology is innovated into it, thus greatly benefiting both the theory in social sciences and the application in social and tribal development.

### LITTLE TRADITION AND GREAT TRADITION

The study of civilization, as such, was placed on anthropological agenda by Redfield. He and his students studied a number of folk and urban communities in Mexico and India and came up with many important concepts to understand the structure and a persistence of civilizations.

Redfield viewed civilization as complex organization of traditions. These traditions are mainly bipolar-Great tradition and Little tradition. These may also be treated as dimensions of civilization along with tribal, rural and urban.

In any society, both the traditions can be found. On the one hand there are fewer traditions which are formal, literate, written, reflective and ideal; on the other hand are informal, illiterate, oral, unreflective and actual. The former are Great Tradition, the latter the Little Tradition. They are mutually complementary, interdependent and interactive. The Great Traditions are originated, preserved

and propagated by the learned few in cultural and religious centres, and disseminated throughout the civilizational region. The Little Traditions are part of folk or rural life. The Great Traditions are the ideals of thought and behaviour, the Little Traditions are the actual behaviour of the great majority of people in rural areas.

The elements of Great Tradition are spread throughout the civilization and are to be found as parts of Little Traditions, which modify them to suit their own cognitive world.

"The [Great] tradition of philosopher, theologian, and literary man is a tradition consciously cultivated and handed down; that of the little people is, for the most part, taken for granted and not submitted to much scrutiny or considered for refinement and improvement. If we enter a village within a civilization we see at once that the culture there has been flowing into it from teachers are exemplars who never saw that village who did their work in intellectual circles perhaps far away in space and time". (Redfield, "Peasant Society & Culture", pp. 41-42.)

Great traditions and little traditions have long affected each other, and continue to do so. Both can be thought of as two currents of thought and action, distinguishable, yet ever flowing into and out of each other. Great epics in any civilization have their origins in tale-telling by many people, and returned again to them for incorporation into local traditions. "The Old Testament arose out of tribal peoples and returned to peasant communities after they had been the subject of thought by philosophers and theologians" (ibid). So arose Ramayan and Quran.

In other words, and in very loose analogy with research process, it can be said that the experiences and perceptions of local people in every nook and corner of civilizational region from the data which are analyzed and theorized by philosophers, thinkers, priests and teachers at Great traditional centres, and returned to the local communities again in a compact form, which are a part of a heritage, a Great Tradition, of the whole civilization not just any specific nook or corner of the civilization.

The difference between the two traditions is basically that of text and context. The contents of the text of the great tradition is expressed or manifested in the context of little traditional village life.

In a concrete example from India Redfield (ibid, 51) writes, ".....the world view of the little traditions of India is on the whole polytheistic, magical and unphilosophical, while the different strands of great Vedic tradition choose different intellectual and ethical emphases: the Vedas tend to be polytheistic and poetical, the upanishads abstract, monistic and not very theistic; while the important Vaishnavism and Shaivism are theistic and ethical..... The Ramayana is the ancient source widely influential in India today. Derived from oral tales,



it was fashioned into a Sanskrit epic by..... Valmiki -and so became a part of India's Great Tradition".

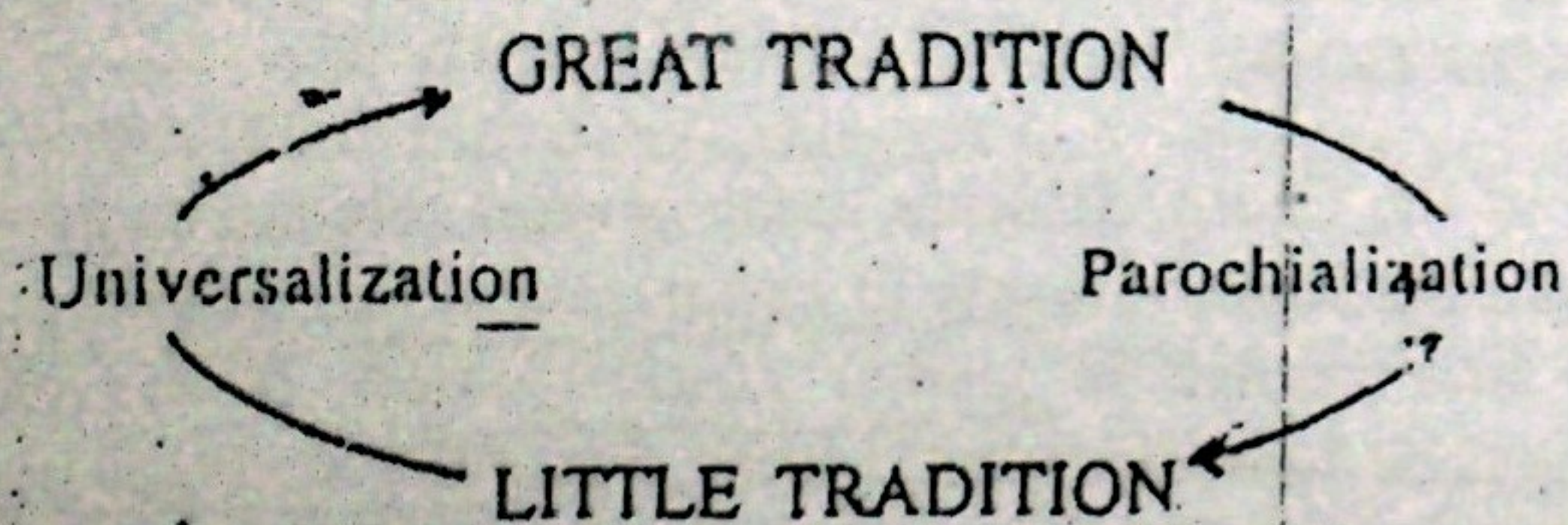
Later this Ramayana was translated into many Indian languages. Its Hindi translation, "Ramacharit Manas" by Tulsī Das became the most prized possession and its content one of the most revered tradition of Hindu India. It contains many interpolations. It is recited in every home and dramatized in popular form, the Ram Lila, thus becoming once again a part of little tradition.

### UNIVERSALIZATION AND PAROCHIALIZATION

Redfield's concept of Great and Little traditions explains the contents of traditions present in a civilization which are inter-dependent and interactive. The process of that interaction and how the two traditions affect each other is well explained by Mckim Marriott's concept of Universalization and Parochialization. Parochialization denotes the downward spread into the parochial village culture of elements from Sanskritic Hinduism (Great Tradition). Universalization is the converse upward spread of elements of village culture (Little Tradition) into Sanskritic Hinduism.

The mixture of elements in Hindu tradition has been going on from the earliest times and has resulted in a form of society and culture in which interactions of Little and Great Traditions has become endemic and stable. The patterns of this interaction, and the media through which it is sustained, have been identified with marriage, trade, religious festivals and pilgrimages, public administration, as well as activities of itinerant entertainers, bards, genealogists, and holy men. The flow of reciprocal influence between Great and Little Tradition, or "higher" and "lower" levels of Hinduism is mainly channeled through such media.

In his study of Kishangarhi village in Uttar Pradesh, Mckim Marriott used the festivals and deity as media of this interaction, to explain the twin process of universalization and parochialization. In a diagrammatic form the two can be shown as follows.



In Kishangarhi, the elements of both Sanskrit tradition and local culture are present in close adjustment and integration, as far as religion is concerned. Out of nineteen festivals celebrated at Kishangarhi, only fifteen are sanctioned in universal Sanskrit texts, which themselves form a very small part of entire body of festivals sanctioned by Sanskrit literature. The villagers are confused, or choose, between various classical meanings for their festivals. And even the most

Sanskritic of the local festivals have incorporated elements of ritual that arose out of the local peasant life.

Speaking of Universalization, Marriott thinks that the little traditions of the folk exercise their influence on the authors of Hindu great tradition who take-up some elements of belief or practice, incorporate it in the philosophical Hinduism, and thus universalize that element by their teachings - oral or textual. Marriott suggests that the Goddess Lakshmi of Hindu Great Tradition is derived from such deities as he saw represented in Kishangarhi fashioned in images of dung. The nature and meaning of both are similar and the villagers identify the local images as Lakshmi. Another local annual festival, which Marriott considers as example of universalization, is in which women go to their brothers to express their attachment by placing barley shoots on their brother's heads and ears. The brothers reciprocate with gifts on the same day, as per classic Sanskrit tradition, the village priest the wrist of his patrons with coloured thread and gets gifts in return. Marriott considers both as examples of universalization.

The opposite process, the parochialization, is shown by Marriott through the following two instances. Sanskrit traditions sanction an annual festival - Dussehra in honour of a great goddess of Great Traditional Hindu pantheon, Durga. In Kishangarhi people include a deity, Naurtha who is worshipped in morning and evening for nine days, and represented by figurines of mud. This deity has no place in the great tradition, and had come into being as linguistic corruption of nauratra (nine nights), associated with Dussehra festival. By mere linguistic confusion in the communication between little and great tradition, he concludes, a minor goddess has been created. Another instance of parochialization is the existence of a stone in Kishangarhi, which is worshipped by the bride and bridegroom. This stone is supposed to represent venus, a divine sage of the Sanskrit traditions, as informed by the Brahmin elders in the village. The origin of the stone is forgotten, and is now regarded as the abode of ancestral spirits of the Brahmins who put it there. "Parochialization is a process of localization, of limitation upon the scope of intelligibility, of deprivation of literary form, of reduction to less systematic and less reflective dimensions. The process of parochialization constitutes the characteristic creative work of little communities within India's indigenous civilization" [Marriott, 1955, 200].

Though the concept of universalization and parochialization may be useful as analytical model, its empirical utility is doubtful, for the simple reason that it is very difficult to establish the origin or spread of any "Parochial" element without a thorough historical study of each element. Moreover, the concept takes into account only orthogenetic processes of change, while the revolutionizing influence of communication and media (news-papers, periodicals, radio, cinema etc.) have been ignored.

Singh (1977) points out that the concept, particularly the universalization process, is anticipated by Srinivas concept of Sanskritization which explains the adoption



of sanskritic tradition by tribes to become a caste and by lower order castes to achieve higher status.

## SANSKRITIZATION AND WESTERNIZATION

The spate of village studies in India brought in its wake a number of useful concepts, models and constructs to understand the structure, and processes of change in the structure, of Indian Civilization. Primarily based on Redfield's ideas of civilization great and little communities, and great and little traditions, etc. These studies added new dimensions and presented refinements in methodology and techniques for the study of processes of change.

One of the most influential studies of the interrelations between great and little traditions in Indian civilization is that of M.N. Srinivas. His "Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India" (1952) is notable not only as a monograph on Coorg society and religion, but even more for its analysis of sanskritization as the process whereby the coorgs have been integrated into Indian society and culture. This concept has stimulated much discussion and research.

As explained by Srinivas, Sanskritization refers to a specific kind of cultural mobility that brings groups outside of Hinduism into the fold and raises the cultural status of groups already in it. This mobility takes place within the framework of caste system i.e. non-Hindu groups are Hinduized by becoming castes, and lower castes rise to the cultural status of the higher castes, by adopting beliefs, practices and values of sanskritic Hinduism represented by life style of the Brahmins. Srinivas believes that not only have many groups thus Hinduized themselves in a generation or two, but that this process is responsible for the spread of sanskritic ideals throughout the sub-continent and also to the remotest hill tribes.

In Srinivas's conception, the Sanskritic Hinduism includes vegetarianism, wearing of sacred-thread, prohibition of widow remarriage, acceptance of Varnashram system and belief in Karma and rebirth, performance of life cycle rites by using vedic mantras with the help of Brahmin priests etc. This is a model style of life, and provides a standard and measure for the unity and persistence of Indian civilization. This model style of life, moreover, approximates the great traditional dimension of Indian civilization, and acts as an ideal code of conduct for any aspirant wishing to be included and accorded a respectable place, within the Hindu fold.

Further researches by Srinivas himself and other anthropologists has resulted in some revisions and generalization. Some scholars have objected to the term Sanskritization as it is inappropriate for the various processes now connoted by it. The concept has not been invalidated, but conditions and scope of its operations have been made more precise.

It has been found that all Sanskritizing groups do not adopt all the elements of Sanskritic Hinduism as mentioned above and may fall far short of it in their daily practice. They may prohibit widow remarriage, identify with one of the Varna, employ a Brahmin Purohit, use a sacred thread, but may not give up meat eating and alcohol drinking. Some may not even accept discrepant behaviour and by citing Vedic references will claim that they are indeed conforming to a sanskritic model where drinking, gambling, meat eating are sanctioned.

Different Models - The above anomaly is explained by that fact the Brahmanic life style is not the only model sanctioned by sanskritic Hinduism or aspired to. In fact it is the Varna model that is presented and chosen from Brahmin model, Kshatriya Model and Vaishya Model. The defining contents of these models vary with locality, and the local version of "Sanskritic Hinduism". In many areas for example, the martial life style has a rank equal to sometimes even higher than, the Brahmins. Groups in these areas who wish to improve their status do so by adopting the life style of Rajputs by Rajputizing their life styles. Those who are engaged in some sort of business or trade find it easier to adopt the Vaiya model.

It is thus clear that the model for sanskritization is not always the Brahmins, as originally envisaged by Srinivas, but may be the local dominant caste, and the choice depends upon the local definition of the Varna attributes.

Some Contradiction - The group aspiring to sanskritize itself may find itself adopting many "retrograde" measures, particularly the position of women. The lower caste women enjoy higher status within their own castes in comparison to their higher caste counterparts. They enjoy freedom in selecting their life partner, divorce is permitted, widow remarriage is allowed. All these tend to be curtailed in order to become "Sanskritized".

In modern India many lower castes have achieved higher education, economic prosperity and political power, claim higher status and prestige by virtue of their being "powerful" but at the same time, they fight strongly to retain their "weaker section" status to take advantage of concessions and special reservations. There appears to be clear conflict between sanctions of sanskritic Hinduism and sanctions of Constitution.

## WESTERNIZATION

In his study of the Coorg, Srinivas made several references to western influence and remarked that improvements in communications, newspapers, books, radio, films etc. has resulted in greater sanskritization. In his paper "A note on Westernization and Sanskritization" (1956), he further analyzed how westernization and sanskritization reinforce one another and how they are in conflict also.

Under Westernization is included all the structural and technical changes in Indian society that took place under British rule, and thereafter, and includes



improvements in communication and transport-motorways, railways, airways, industrialization, urbanization, civil, military and legal institution of parliamentary democracy and new occupations associated with these. These changes seem to have contributed to an increase in Sanskritization. Many castes, as they improved their educational, political and economic positions, also improved their ritual status, thereby sanskritizing themselves. The Harijans, too, have the alternative to migrate from the local systems, or to take advantage of the social, economic, educational, political and administrative redressal open to them.

Westernization has presented a new style of life-mainly British model which has not replaced the older one, only made additions to it. The acceptance of the new life-style is also differential. City dwellers are more receptive than villagers; educated and youth are more receptive than uneducated and old, some regions are more receptive than others. For some it is only a matter of dress, diet, speech and manners, to others it also includes political ideology, education, liberal outlook, scientific temper. Yet even the greatly westernized group has not alienated itself from the traditional culture and social structure of family, caste or region.

It is true that even those who have not accepted the Western style of life as ideal have been greatly influenced by it in terms of education, occupation, political activity and performance of ritual obligations etc. Many orthodox Brahmins have received modern education and are employed as civil servants, doctors, professors, engineers, lawyers, parliamentarians - the effects of Westernization and still regard themselves good Hindus, even if they do not have time for all ritual observances, without any psychological conflict. Indian culture is rich enough, and has always been flexible enough to enable the Indians to adopt new ways without losing social or cultural identity.

## SACRED COMPLEX

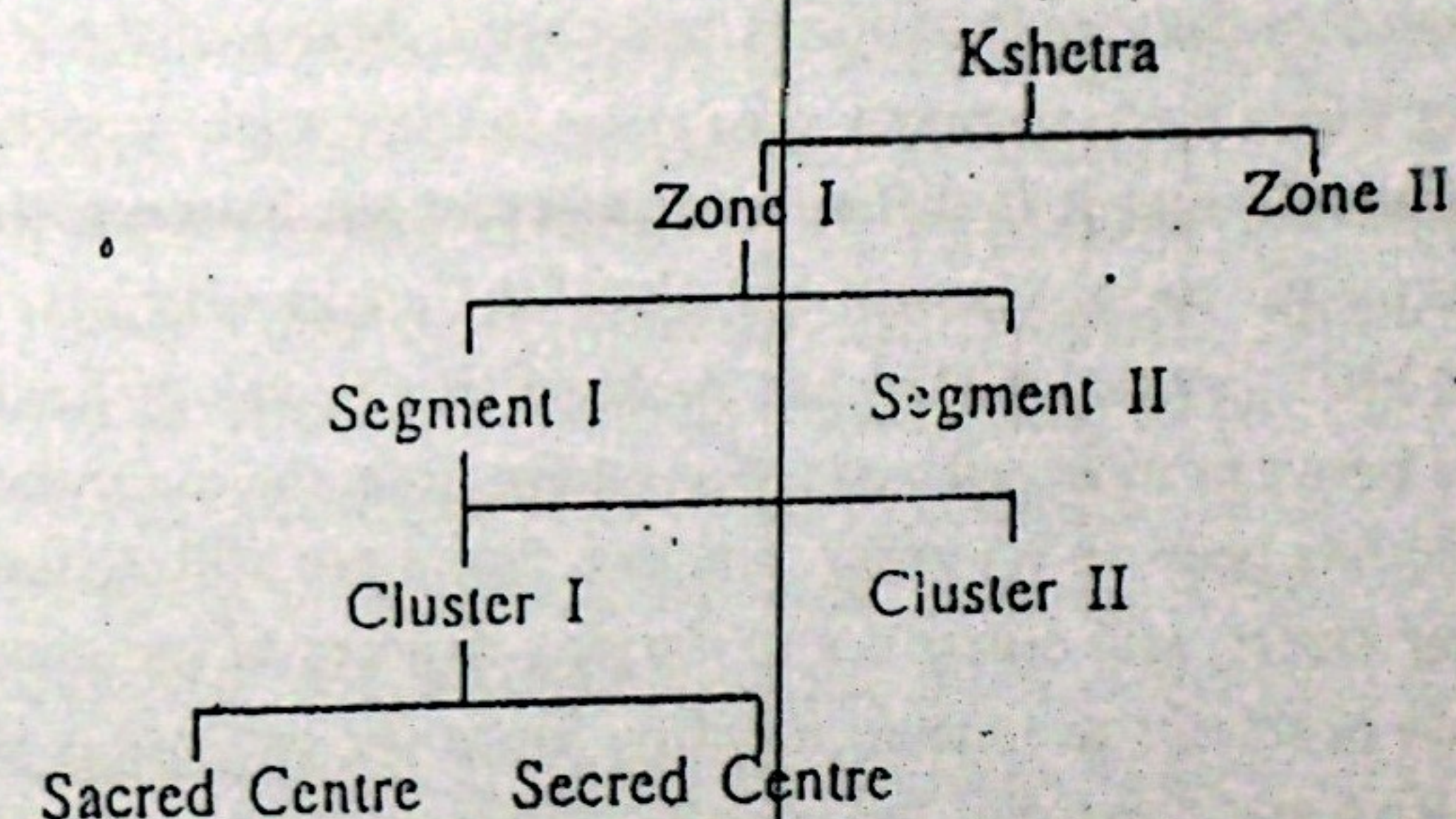
The study of Civilization, and the concept of Great and Little Tradition led to many methodological innovations. Redfield and his students, Marriott and Singer, proposed a number of concepts and terms to facilitate the study of a complexity of Indian civilization, and emphasized the cultural role of the cities. Singer proposed the concepts of cultural centres, cultural performances, cultural specialists, cultural media etc.

Vidyarthi (1961) selected Gaya in Bihar for an intensive study of a holy city as a dimension of Indian civilization. Substituting Singer's term "cultural" by "Sacred", Vidyarthi proposed the concept of Sacred Complex with three components-Sacred Geography, Sacred Performances and Sacred Specialists. A sacred complex is an intricate and interdependent grouping of sacred centres, sacred performances and sacred specialists; and is in cultural and structural relationship with the whole Hindu civilization. For his study he formulated three hypotheses.

- That the sacred complex of a Hindu place of pilgrimage reflects a level of continuity, compromise and combination between great and little traditions.
- That the sacred specialists of a place, with their distinctive style of life transmit certain elements of great tradition to the rural population of India, and
- That the sacred complex has been in the process of modification and transformation.

The major findings in his studies are the following.

**Sacred Geography** - Any holy city has two main parts-sacred and secular. The sacred part (*Kshetra*) is further divided into zones, segments and clusters of sacred centres. It is sacred centre which is most important because rites are performed here, and it may be an idol in a temple, a tree, a bathing ghat etc. The Sacred Geography may be explained through following chart :-



Each centre has its own importance, and may have varying spread local, district, state, Hindu universe.

**Sacred Performances** - These are sets of rites and rituals performed by worshipper at different sacred centres, and vary with the nature and importance of each centre. These may be recitation of *Mantras*, meditations, floral offerings, oblations, donations, artistic performances etc.

Gaya has a unique place in the Hindu world, as the final rites for the ancestral spirits are performed here the *Gaya Shraddha*.

**Sacred Specialists** - They are the priests associated with different centres and help the worshippers and pilgrims in the sacred performances. They are also associated with different parts of India, and consider the pilgrims coming from those parts as their clients exclusively. In Gaya, they are called *Gayawal Brahmins* and hold a monopoly over *Gaya Shraddha*.

Vidyarthi concludes that sacred complex at Gaya is great traditional in content, but incorporates elements of little traditions as well. It had played an integrating role in Hindu civilization by providing a meeting place for different kinds of



people and traditions, of castes and sects of classes and strata, and by communicating with every corner of India through priestly relationships.

After Vidharthi, a number of his students have examined the concept at different places of pilgrimage and holy cities. Some of them are B.N. Saraswati's "Holy Circuit of Nimsar" (1962); "Temple Organization in Goa" (1965) and "Sacred complex in Kashi" (1978); M. Jha's "Sacred Complex of Janakpur" (1971) and "Sacred Complex of Ratanpur" (1978); Upadhyay's "Sacred Geography of Dwarka" (1974); S. Narayan's "Sacred Complex of Deogarh" (1972); M. Mohapatra's "Lingraj Temple, Its Structure and Change" (1971) etc.

Of these, Jha's work deserves special mention. He has studied the sacred complex in detail and has refined it. He suggested that a regional approach, "Civilizational regions", may be more useful. Each region has a civilizational centre, serving as sacred and secular capital of the region, and a set of lesser known sacred complexes.

### TRIBE-CASTE CONTINUUM

Indian society is composed of thousands of tribes and castes. Many of the lower castes and neighbouring tribes have so much similarity in their socio-economic position and general life-style that it is difficult to differentiate between them. This is a problem not only for social scientist but also for Census officials. The Census Commissioner (1901 Census) Risley had moaned that it was difficult to draw a demarcating line between tribe and caste. For a long time, the assimilation of tribes into Hindu fold has been an on-going process. Some are still distinctly tribes, some are distinctly castes, still others are in varying degrees of the process of assimilation, and pose problems as to their identity. Since the process is slow and defining characteristics are numerous, the transformation of tribe into a caste is treated as a continuum, hence Tribe-Caste Continuum.

Many attempts have been made to understand this process. Important among them being that of Bose, F.G. Bailey, Surajit Sinha and Sachchidanand.

Risley (1915) had proposed four probable methods of transformation of tribes into castes, some of which did anticipate later researches on the topic.

- (a) Progressive section of a tribe, after accumulating sufficient wealth mainly in the form of landed property, declare themselves as castes, and invent fictitious genealogies with the help of the Brahmin priests.
- (b) A whole tribe or a part of it may transform into a sectarian caste by embracing the tenets of Hindu religion.
- (c) It might happen that by adopting certain Hindu customs and also by inventing fictitious descent from a mythical founder of the caste claimed, a whole tribe or a large part of it forms a new caste, or
- (d) It is also possible that whole tribe or a large part of it gradually converts

itself to Hinduism without abandoning its tribal designation.

Bose, in his article, *Hindu Method of Tribal Absorption* (1941), highlights the economic relationship between a tribal group and the multi-caste Hindu community. The integration into Hindu system proceeds primarily through the economic integration. A lower mode of production is given up in favour of higher mode of production. This process gets stability due to *inter-cultural tolerance* of the Hindu, which permits the tribal group to retain their previous customs with only minor adjustments.

Bailey's study (1960) is considered very important. He studied the economic and political aspects of *Konds* of Orissa and the neighbouring Oriya castes. He suggested that caste and tribe may be viewed as constituting two ends of the same pole and not as mutually exclusive entities, i.e. as a continuum.

Different groups may be posited at different points of a scale on the basis of any specific criterion. Bailey suggests the criteria of agricultural land and land-man ratio. Higher the ratio and more direct the man-land relationship, nearer the group is to the tribal end of the pole. Conversely, the lesser the ratio and more indirect the man-land relationship (such as for artisans, and other "service" castes) nearer the group is to the caste end of the pole. On this basis Bailey considers Konds to be a tribe in the *Tribe-Caste continuum*.

Taking political dimension into consideration, Bailey tries to explain it on the basis of structural - functional interdependence. Interdependence means every person is dependent on another person, which is reciprocal, denoting equality. A Tribal society is organized on the basis of segmentary solidarity in which segments (such as lineage or clan) are socially equal, economically interdependent and structurally similar. A caste society on the other hand, is organized on the basis of organic solidarity in which the components are socially unequal, economically interdependent and structurally dissimilar. Here it must be borne in mind that tribal inter-dependence is within the tribe while caste interdependence is between the castes. Moreover, segments in a segmentary structure are autonomous, while components in an organic structure are not.

Now, Bailey points out, that as political relationship of a Kond with a Kond is segmentary i.e. political equality, therefore, they are a tribe. At the same time they have enough agriculture land with many lower caste Hindus working for, and dependent upon, them. As such, they act as "dominant castes". Therefore, Kond are both a tribe and a caste!

Bailey concludes that at one end of the pole is a segmentary society with egalitarian political system, while at the other end of the pole is a society, most of which members are mutually dependent on each other. It is difficult to establish the precise point which separates the two. Therefore, the two societies exhibit a continuum, a *tribe-caste continuum*.



Surajit Sinha (1965) denies the universal validity of Bailey's model. His own work on the *Bhumij* of Manbhum and *Maria Gond* of Bastar, in his bid to understand the tribe-caste and tribe-peasant continua, emphasizes the simultaneous, yet distinct levels of social structure and culture. He highlights the basic similarity between tribals and lower castes, particularly on equality in social behaviour within one's own ethnic group, greater freedom for women, closer nature-man relationship, a value system with little puritanical asceticism, religious pantheon consisting of local gods etc.

His ideas on tribe-caste continuum were expressed systematically in his concept of Rajputization of Gonds of Central India. He argues that diffusion of Rajput model of state could take place only among those tribes who had attained the technological level of settled agriculture, and that "the history of state formation in the tribal belt of Central India is very largely the story of Rajputization of the tribes".

The process of transformation of a tribe into a caste was accompanied by the formation of strata in an egalitarian society. Social classes appeared on the lines of sub-infeudation of territorial units, and a very close correlation between power, economy and social status. The second step was the creation of kinship relations by marriage alliances with Rajputs and ritual symbols. The connection between Rajput and pseudo-Rajput lineages is perpetuated by myths, and tribal belt of India is connected to the mainstream of Hindu civilization, thus establishing a strong *tribe-caste continuum*.

Sachchidananda's study of Gonds of Bihar, was to find out as to how the Gonds have been assimilated into Hindu caste group through acculturation, and have obtained the status of a "high caste". He made a list of 20 basic characteristics of Hindus, such as practice of untouchability, dowry system, Hindu forms of marriage, social stratification, worship of Hindu gods and deities, prohibition of beef-eating etc. He found that Gonds were nearer the higher castes on 13 points. He concluded that on tribe - caste continuum scale, Gonds were on the caste end and therefore, to be treated as caste.

Sachchidanand opines that acculturation as a process of tribe to caste transformation is widespread in India and has been going on for a long time.

## VILLAGE STUDIES IN INDIA ✓

The influence of Redfield on anthropological researches has been varied and awe-inspiring. Before him, social anthropology had been mainly concerned with tribal studies. His little community and peasant society and culture paved the way for studies on villages as minimum units to understand the civilization.

Anthropological studies of Indian villages began in earnest in early fifties, from both theoretical and applied angles, to test various hypotheses as well as to collect

authentic and scientific data to help in the implementation of Community Development Programmes after independence. Many American and British anthropologists and some Indians started working in different areas, on different topics. Though some tribal villages were also chosen, the main thrust was on peasant villages. Between 1955 and 1970, there was a spate of publications of monographs, papers, proceedings of seminars etc. And one common conclusion that emerged was that the complexity of Indian civilization was not as simple as it was thought by westerners.

Except Gujrat, Rajasthan, and Punjab, all the major states were covered, Uttar Pradesh leading with eight studies. Important among these studies were of :

1. Village Rampur in U.P. by Oscar Lewis, 1958.
2. Village Kishangarhi in U.P. by McKim Marriott, 1955.
3. Village Senapur in U.P. by Morris Opler, 1952.
4. Village Khalapur in U.P. by John Hitchcock, 1956.
5. Village Karimpur in U.P. by William Weiser, 1963.
6. Village Ramkheri in U.P. by A.C. Mayer 1960.
7. Village Bisipara in Orissa by F.G. Bailey, 1957.
8. Village Ranjana in W.B. by G. Chattopadhyay, 1968.
9. Village Ghaghra in Bihar by L.P. Vidyarthi 1967.
10. Village Orchha in M.P. by Edward Jay, 1970.
11. Village Shamirpet in A.P. by S.C. Dubey, 1955.
12. Rampura in Karnataka by M.N. Srinivas, 1955.
13. Gopalpur in Karnataka by Alan Beals, 1962.
14. Kummabapettai in Kerala by Kathleen Gough, 1955.
15. Rishangangi in Meghalaya by Robins Burling, 1961.

A seminar was organized at Chicago University in 1954, in which papers on Indian Civilization were presented. Eight of these were published in an edited Volume (ed. M. Marriott) entitled "Village India", 1955. These tried to raise a number of theoretical and methodological problems in the study of Indian villages, "the little communities". The major problem involved were:

- a. Whether the Indian villages were "cultural isolates".?
- b. If not, how are they related to the Great Tradition of Indian civilization.?
- c. What should be the best approach to understand the role of villages in the development of Indian civilization.?

The common consensus was that Indian village is not culturally isolated; that its intellectual life is perpetually incomplete, requiring continuing communication of thought originating outside itself; and that Indian civilization is an intricate system of relationships between over simplified "great" and "little" traditions.

Another edited volume "India's Villages" (ed. M.N. Srinivas) was published in



1955. It is a collection of articles by scholars engaged in village studies and published in Economic Weekly, Bombay. Four of them (Srinivas, Beals, Marriott and Mandelbaum) have also contributed to Village India too. The villages in this collection are more representative of India. Some of them are purely tribal, some purely non-tribal, a few are mixed. Some are multi-religious with Muslims and Christians also. Being a part of the then prevailing village studies milieu, these articles also address similar problems as those in "village India".

The broad picture of Indian village that emerges from these studies are,

- The Indian villages are in a state of flux. These are undergoing slow but sure changes.
- Caste system is universal factor in Indian villages.
- Agriculture and allied activities are the basis of village economy, which requires the active co-operation of all the caste groups.
- Villages pose a "part-whole" dilemma. On the one hand, they function as self sufficient wholes, on the other hand they exhibit interaction with other rural and urban communities. This "unity and extension" of Indian village is well illustrated in the inter-caste, intra-caste and inter-village relationships.
- The concept of dominant caste is an empirical reality.
- Though Indian villagers are bound by tradition and appear orthodox, they are receptive to modern ideas in agriculture, education, politics, technology etc.
- North Indian villages are exogamous, while South Indian villages prefer endogamy.
- Tribes in mixed villages act as castes in economic organization.
- Urbanization, industrialization and democratization are breaking up the traditional structures of Indian villages-caste, economy, political organization etc.

Besides these two edited volumes, many fulfilled monographs on village studies were also published. Some of them are :

- An Indian Village* - S.C. Dubey (1955) - This is an intensive and first monographic study of village, in its institutional, religious, economic aspects, as well as changes evident in Shamirpet.
- Village Life in Northern India* - Oscar Lewis (1958) - This is a study of village Rampur, (a fictitious name) a Jat dominated village near Delhi. He studied the caste and Jajmani system, land tenure and village economy, inter-caste factions, extensions of village due to marriage ties, diseases, religion etc. He compared the village with Tepozlan, a Mexican village studied by Redfield. Far from considering the village as an isolate, he was so much impressed by the numerous extensions of the village that

he named it "Rural Cosmopolitanism".

- The Remembered Village* - M.N. Srinivas, (1976) - Having lost all his processed material in a fire at Stanford, England, Srinivas wrote this monograph on Rampura village in Karnataka (a fictitious name) entirely out of memory. Encompassing all the aspects of village life from agricultural economy to caste to religion, the book reveals the complex interplay of forces and personalities of this multicasite village, in a synthetic rather than mechanical way. This monograph provides insight into rural India as a whole and sets a new trend in ethnography.

Many studies were limited to specific aspects such as caste, kinship, family etc. Mention may be made of "Caste and Kinship in Central India" by Majumdar (1958), "Caste and Kinship in Central India" by A.C. Mayer (1960), "Caste and Economic Frontier" by F.G. Bailey (1960), "Family and Kinship: A Study of Pundits of Rural Kashmir" by T.N. Madan (1965); "Family and Kinship in a North Indian Village" by Harold Gould (1959) etc.

Some purely tribal villages were also selected for intensive study. These are "A Tribal Village of Middle India" by Edward Jay (1970), "Ghaghra : A Tribal Village in Chhotanagpur" by L.P. Vidyarthi (1967) and "Anjan : Continuity and Change in an Oraon Village" by N. Mishra (1975).

Major contributions of Village Studies - These village studies, besides being records of facts concerning Indian villages proved important from many other points of view.

- They helped the government in making directed and specific programmes in Community Development Project.
- These helped the anthropologists in framing, testing, and refining a number of methodological tools and techniques to study a civilization in general and peasant society in particular.
- The anthropological corpus was enriched with a number of concepts viz. Universalization and Parochialization, Sanskritization and Westernization, Dominant Caste, Sacred complex, Tribe-caste continuum etc.
- These presented to the world a real picture of India's village to the Western world, which had held the image of a "passive", "fatalistic" country full of "Sadhus doing the rope-trick".



## Chapter 9

### TRIBAL SITUATION IN INDIA

The study of tribals, has been one of the oldest of anthropological concerns. In fact, the genesis of anthropology can be traced to the attempts, made by European colonists, travellers, explorers and missionaries to understand and describe the ways of life of the native people they found in Africa, Asia, Australia and the New World. These forest-and hill-dwelling 'savages' were called tribes to differentiate them from other 'civilised' people.

Many attempts have been made in anthropology to define on 'tribe', but there is no consensus on defining characteristics. Territoriality, race, economy, animism, political autonomy etc.; have been variously used. In fact, it appears that the dozens of definitions of 'tribe' floating around in anthropological literature are as diverse as the field situation encountered by those proposing the definitions. At any rate, this term is, at best, an Euro-American perspective to identify the most primitive section of non-white, non-Christian population of the world.

In Indian context, too, the term is a British legacy. They classified as tribe such people who were beyond the pale of Hindu Varna system, occupied inaccessible hills and forests and were of dark complexion. Neither Hindu nor any other Indian language has a corresponding term with exact connotation as 'tribe'. This in itself, is a proof enough that Indian language have never, conceptually, set these people apart from the rest.

On the basis of certain universal characteristics contained in various definitions, Majumdar (1958) proposed a definition of tribe claiming that some of it would define a tribe anywhere.

"A tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialization of function ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognising social distance with other tribes, castes, without any social obloquy attaching to them as it does in the caste structure following tribal traditions, belief and customs illiberal of naturalization of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration."

Not unlike the definition, there is also no consensus as regard the number of tribal communities in India. The linguistic diversity further confounds the confusion as the same groups are known by different names in different states and treated as separate tribes or the sub-tribes are treated as independent tribes. Another problem arises when 'tribe' is considered as synonymous with 'Schedule

Tribes'. The latter are, simply, those communities listed as 'tribes' in the schedule of Constitution of India.

Roy Burman (1971) considering 1971 Census data, found that there are altogether 427 tribal communities in India. Anthropological Survey of India on the other hand, had listed 314 tribal communities by lumping together a number of sub-tribes who are known by their generic name such as Naga, Gond, Bhil etc.

A publication of Research wing of Tribal Development Division, Govt of India, (1978) gives a list of 613 Scheduled tribes taking into account the state wise list of Scheduled Tribes (see Appendix).

#### BIO-GENETIC VARIABILITY

Many attempts have been made to classify the Indian population on the basis of bio-genetic variations. The earliest such study was done by H.H. Risley, the Census Commissioner for 1901 Census. He divided the entire Indian population into seven Categories (1915). His classification took castes for district racial groups. These racial types are :-

- (a) Turko-Iranian
- (b) Indo-Aryan
- (c) Scytho-Dravidian
- (d) Aryo-Dravidian
- (e) Mongolo-Dravidian
- (f) Mongoloid
- (g) Dravidian.

This classification has now been discarded.

Another classification by Haddon (1919) divided India on geographical basis - Himalayan region, Northern Plains, and the Deccan - and then grouped people living in these areas on the basis of physical appearance, customs, traditions, language etc. This classification also, is no longer useful.

Hutton (1931) suggested eight racial groups in the order of their supposed arrival into India.

- (a) Negrito
- (b) Proto-Australoid
- (c) Early Mediterranean
- (d) Advanced Mediterranean
- (e) Armenoids
- (f) Alpines
- (g) Vedic Aryans
- (h) Mongoloids.

The most comprehensive and authentic classification is that by B.S. Guha



(1913), as outlined in chapter III on "Demographic Profile of India".

The first three groups, viz, Negrito, Proto-Australoid and Mongoloid are related to the tribal population in India. At the risk of repeating, we shall recapitulate.

(a) **Negrito** - These are supposed to be one of the racial stock in the world. They have very dark skin frizzly hair and are almost dwarfish in stature. Kadars of Kerela, Andmanees of Andman island, Urali Kurumba and Puliyan of South India belong to this category.

The presence of Negrito racial group has caused much controversy. Some of the anthropologist believe that being the oldest, the Negrito must have formed the basis of sub-stratum in India, and were later displaced and supplemented by the proto-Australoids. If it were true, the Negrito features would have been scattered in all over India including North India where it is totally absent. Risley (1915-32) writes "Curious and interesting as they are from the point of view of general anthropology, the Andmanese have had no share in the making of Indian people". Even among Kadars, Aiyappan (1948) reports, "A very small percentage..... show the frizzly hair, the individual with this characteristics can be counted on one's finger"

(b) **Proto-Australoid** - The main physical difference of proto-Australoid from that of Negritos is the frizzly hair. They have wavy and curly hairs and also darked skin and have sunken nose and lower foreheads. A great majority of tribal population in Central and South India belongs to this category. Gonds of Baster, Bhils of Rajasthan, Munda, Oraon, Santhal, Ho and Kharia of Bihar & Juang of Orissa etc. are proto-Australoids in racial features.

(c) **Mongoloid** - They are also short statured but have yellow-brown colour, straight and stiff hair, oblique eye-slit with epicanthic fold, scantifacial hair (beared and moustache). This racial stock is believed to have originated in China and came in India via Himalayan passes and Myanmar (Barma). They are concentrated in North Eastern States, Ladakh, Sikkim etc. They are divided into two groups.

(i) **Palaeo-Mongoloid** - As the term implies this is the most primitive group inhabiting the Assam and Indo-Myanmar border. They are divided into two groups, long headed and broad headed. Naga-Khasi, Dafla, Abor, Mishmi etc. belongs to this category.

(ii) **Tibbeto-Mongoloid** - They believed to have come from Tibet and occupying mainly Bhutan, Sikkim and Ladakh.

Thus the Indian Tribes are classified into three groups racially. There is one more tribe the Toda of Nilgiris, who are tall with rosy-white complexion, have thin lips and prominent nose and have plenty of facial and body hair. They are quite evidently of, Nordic race.

The serological study of Indian population has not been of much help in resolving the controversy as to the primacy of Negrito versus Proto-

Australoids. Negrito have high percentage of 'B' blood group, the Australoid 'A' blood group. The Indian Tribes in general show higher incidence of 'A' blood group. But tribes like Bhil and Munda, with decidedly Non-Negrito features, have high incidence of 'B' blood group.

On the basis of all these factors, Majumdar (1915-33) says "We, therefore, come to the conclusion that the earlier inhabitants of India were Proto-Australoid who may have received some infiltration of African or even Negrito blood in the coastal parts of India at some later period".

All authorities agree, however, that Mongoloids are the last arrivals in India as far as tribes are concerned.

### LINGUISTIC VARIABILITY

(For a detailed discussion on linguistic classification, please see chapter 3 'Demographic Profile of India.')

As we saw in chapter 3, India is inhabited by people who speak more than 500 languages and dialects. Almost all principal languages in the world are spoken in India by some or other section of people domiciled here.

The dialects spoken by tribal belong to all the four major groups and show much variation, groupwise and region-wise. Their origin and probable route of distribution has evoked some controversy particularly that of Austro-Asiatic language family.

The broad linguistic classification of tribals are as follows (Vidyarthi & Rai 1976, 68)

#### 1. Austro-Asiatic or Austric (or Nishad) family :

- (a) *Mon-Khmer Branch* - Khasi of Meghalaya and Nikobari of Andman and Nikobar Islands.
- (b) *Munda Branch* - Munda, Santhal, HO, Kharwar and Kharia of Bihar, Khond and Gaudaba of Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

#### 2. Tibbeto-Chinese or Sino-Tibbetan (Kirat) family :

- (a) *Siamese - Chinese family (Thai's group)* - Khampti of Arunachal Pradesh.
- (b) *Tibbeto-Burman Sub-family* -
  - (i) *Tibbeto-Himalayan Branch* - Tibetan, Balti, Ladakhi, Lahauli, Sherpa, Darjeeling, Bhotia, Sikkim-Bhotia, Lepcha, and Toto of Sikkim, Swangli and Kanauri of Himachal Pradesh.
  - (ii) *Arunachal Branch* - Aka, Abor, Dafla, Miri, Mishmi and Mishing.
  - (iii) *Assam-Burmese Branch* -
    - (a) *Bodo or Boro group* - Kachari Dimasa of Assam, Garo of Meghalaya, Tripuri of Tripura.



(b) *Naga group*

1. *Naga sub-group* - Aao, Angami, Sema, and Rengma of Nagaland
2. *Naga-Bodo sub-group* - Kabui and Kacheha of Manipur.

~~(c) *Kachin group* - Singpho of Arunachal Pradesh~~

- (d) *Kuki-Chin group* - Manipuri-Thado and Sukte of Meghalaya, Mizoram and Assam, Ralte of Manipur, Lushai of Tripura.

- (c) *Dravidian (or Dravid) Family* - Kurukh and Malto in Bihar, Yerava in Karnataka Gond of Middle India, Toda in Nilgiri, Kota in Karnataka, Kerala And Tamilnadu.

- (d) *Indo-European (or Aryan) Family* - Hajong of Assam, Meghalaya and Mizoram, Bhil of Western India.

The above classification and the distribution of tribal languages present some interesting features. Austro-Asiatic family of language, is mainly spoken in Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. But has small linguistic pockets in Meghalaya (Khasi) and Arunachal Pradesh (Khampti). Similarly Dravidian is spoken mainly in South India but forms a linguistic island in Bihar (Kurukh and Malto).

The Tibbeto-Chinese family of language are spoken in Himalayan areas, from Nagaland in the North-East to Himachal Pradesh in the North-West, by people who are predominantly Mongoloid in racial features.

Geldern (1928) had suggested that Munda group of languages was brought to India by Mongoloids who entered India through North-Eastern Himalayas. Hutton (1931), on the other hand, believes that this was brought by Kolarian through North-West Himalayas.

## MAIN FEATURES OF TRIBAL ECONOMY

The tribes in India exhibit 'we saw a great variation' in Language and physical features. So they do in their economic pursuits also. They earn their living by foraging as well as animal husbandry, by agriculture as well as govt. services from lowly peon to high level administrative officers and ministers.

But even when they pursue economic activities that are also a part of non-tribal economic life - agriculture, for instance - their structural arrangements are remarkably different. They possess very simple technology basically producing only enough to maintain them at subsistence level, or even lower.

Usually they show what Majumdar (1961-139) called "marginal economy" - a group of people practising different types of occupations at one time for livelihood, eg: collecting roots, fruits and honey along with hunting.

Usually a tribe has neither internal social differentiation nor any specialization

of functions. And whenever a tribe takes up one specialized function, such as simple artisans, it behaves as a caste. The Lohra and the Mahali of Bihar and Kharwar of U.P. are cases in point. They have taken up iron smithy, basket-making and catchu-growing respectively. They do not have exclusive villages of their own and maintain jajmani relations with other tribes in their area.

In general economic life of the tribals is marked by following features.

- (a) *Simple technology* - The tools are either made by the user himself or by local artisans living in the neighbourhood.

- (b) *Small economy* - The production and transaction of goods and services takes place within small communities in a limited geographical area.

- (c) *Reciprocal Exchange* - The exchange of goods and services is carried out on reciprocal basis, through barter and gift. The motive of profit is generally absent.

- (d) *No surplus* - The manufacture of consumer goods necessary for bare sustenance is usual. An economic surplus is rare.

- (e) *Division of labour* - Age and sex form the basic criterion for division of labour instead of professional training and specialization.

- (f) *Tribal Markets* - The exchange of goods, or limited sale of surplus goods takes place in periodical tribal markets, which also serve as socio cultural networks in maintaining intervillage ties.

- (g) *Slower innovation* - The rate of internal or induced innovation is very low, making the economic structure stabler but unprogressive.

- (h) *Importance of family and kinship* - The family in tribal societies is a unit of both production and consumption. The Kinship acts as co-operative unit. In numerically smaller groups, whole community acts as a cooperative unit.

## ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION OF THE TRIBES

A survey of tribes in India shows a wide range of economic activities; which, when arrayed in order of increasing complexity, also portrays different stages in the evolution through which all mankind has passed in the past.

Vidyarthi (1976 : 116) has divided the tribes of India into eight major cultural types on the basis of economy. These are-

- (a) Forest hunting type
- (b) Hill-cultivation type
- (c) Plain agriculture type
- (d) Simple artisan type
- (e) Pastoral type
- (f) Folk-artist type
- (g) Labour type
- (h) White-collar job and traders type



(a) *Forest hunting type* - Mainly depending on hunting wild animals, collecting wild fruit, roots and tubers, and fishing, these semi-nomadic tribes are found all over India, except western parts. Their temporary settlement consists of 10 to 20 huts and the total population of a group rarely exceeds 75 or 80.

Some of the tribes who belong to this culture type are Raji of U.P., Birhor and Hill Kharia of Bihar, Juang of Orissa, Hill Maria Gonds of M.P., Chenchu and Yanadi of Andhra Pradesh, Kurumba of Kerala, and Onge, Jarawa, Sentinelese and Shompen of Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

(b) *Hill Cultivation Type* - They practice shifting or slash-and-burn, cultivation on hill-slopes or terraces. This practice is known as Jhum in North-East, Kurwa in Bihar, Podu or Dahi in Orissa, Kondapaddy in Andhra Pradesh etc.

These people usually select a particular piece of land and cut the trees and shrubs on the land. After picking useful pieces of wood for sale or fuel, the remaining pile is burnt after first monsoon shower, digging sticks are used to make holes in the soil on the hill-slopes and mixed seeds are put into them. Weeding once or twice, they keep watch against wild animals. When the corns have ripened, harvesting is done followed by annual festivals. The tract of land is then left fallow for a few years to allow the plant to grow and another tract is used next year. The main crops are maize, millet, beans, pulses etc.

The main tribes who follow this practice are Nagas of Nagaland, Purum of Manipur, Maler of Bihar, Kuttia Khonds of Orissa, Kamaras and Baiga of Andhra Pradesh, Malekudias of Karnataka etc.

(c) *Plain Agriculture type* - Agriculture in its simpler form with ploughing with the help of two animals-buffalo or oxes - is practised by a majority of tribals in India. Evidently more profitable, more secure and safer economically than shifting cultivation this almost always leads to higher population. However, compared to agriculture with irrigation as practised by non-tribals, the yield of tribals is much lower, barely enough to maintain them at subsistence level. Co-operation during sowing and harvesting is a characteristic feature. In low levels, paddy is usually grown, but in uplands only coarser variety of rice and pulses are produced. Domestication of animal, particularly cow, buffalo, pigs and fowl, generally accompanies.

The major tribes involved in plain agriculture are, Khasi and Jaintia of Assam and Meghalaya; Tharu of Terai of eastern U.P., Munda, Oraon, and Santhal of Bihar, Baiga and Gond of Orissa and M.P.; Bhils and Mina of Western India; Koya of Andhra Pradesh; Malyali of Tamilnadu etc.

(d) *Simple Artisan type* - Certain tribes specialize in specific crafts and cottage industries like basketry, tool-making, carpentry, iron-smithy, spinning and weaving, etc. Unlike other tribes, these do not have exclusive village of their own, but a few families of these tribes are to be found scattered in villages of other agriculturist tribal villages, tied to them by a system similar to Jajmani system of non-tribal Hindu village. They also sell the produce in the periodical haat

(markets). The main artisan tribes with their occupation are as follows -

Tribes	State	Occupation
Gujjars	Himachal Pradesh	Wood products
Kinnauri	" "	" "
Kanjars	U.P.	Basketry, rope making
Lohara	Bihar	Iron smiths
Mahali	"	Basketry
Chikbaraik	"	Weaving
Kolam	Maharashtra	Basketry and mat making
Kota	Karnataka & Tamilnadu	Carpentry and tool making
Thoti	Andhra Pradesh	Bamboo mats and Baskets

(e) *Pastoral type* - Although almost all the agriculturist tribes domesticate animals, there are many tribes who are totally committed to cattle-herding and live on milk and other dairy produce by selling them to neighbouring people. The classic examples, are Todas of Nilgiri hills of Tamilnadu and Gaddis and Bakarwals of Himachal Pradesh. But all pastoralists do not rear milch animals only. Many tribals are shepherds of sheep also and sell wool.

The gujjars, the gaddis, and the Bakarwals of Himachal Pradesh own goats and sheep, wandering with their flock on higher mountain pastures during summer and in lowly valleys in the other months. They sell milk, wood and woollen clothes. They also sell animals to butchers.

Todas, on the other hand, are entirely devoted to buffaloes, and live on milk and milk-products. Kuruba of Karnataka are sheep rearer. The Bharwad and Rabari of Gujrat own goat, sheep, camel, sell milk and wool as also hides and skin.

(f) *Folk-Artist type* - Some tribals specialize in acrobatics, singing, dancing, snake-charming, conjuring and barding. They are nomads, wandering from village to village and from city to city all over India and earn their livelihood by arranging show in open-air, usually at periodical markets, in the rural areas. Popularly known as Nat, Saper, Madari, Bahurupia etc., they belong to different tribes. Their permanent nomadism has enabled them to pick up the language and custom of different areas. Many of these tribes are not Scheduled.

The Pardhans of Andhra Pradesh are traditional bards and genealogists, whose presence was essential in many social function until recently. Their humour and jokes are very popular among the Gonds. The Dommaras of the same state, on the other hand, are acrobats.

The Kalbelias of Rajasthan are snake-charmers and conjurers. The Kolahs of Orissa are also acrobats. Other tribes are Pamula and Garedi of Andhra Pradesh,



*Mundupia* of Orissa, and section of *Kota* in Tamilnadu etc.

(g) *Labour type* - In the previous six types, we have discussed the occupation of tribes which are traditional, and carried on by the whole tribe in general. The labour type and the next type of white collar job holders and traders, is not a traditional occupation, nor does any specific tribe follow these.

The labour type can be divided into two-agricultural labour and non-agricultural labour. The former type is to be found in every plain agriculturist village, where these labourer work in the fields of others, more or less on regular basis and receive their remuneration mostly in kind.

Urbanization, industrialization and mining operations opened up avenues for new kind of employment- the non-agricultural labours. Most of industries and mines were set up in predominantly tribal areas causing large scale displacements. Even those who have sufficient land of their own for agriculture were forced to work as unskilled labourers in the factories constructed on the sites where their villages once stood.

The tribal belt comprising of chhotanagpur in Bihar, North Orissa and East Madhya Pradesh, inhabited by more than half of total tribal population in the country became the industrial belt of India with many large steel projects (Jamshedpur, Rourkela, Bhilai, Bokaro) coal and iron mines and thermal power stations, millions of tribals became industrial labourers. Same is true for other industrial belts as well, notably Maharashtra and Gujrat. Some of the tribals became contract labourers and rickshaw-pullers etc. in urban centres.

(h) *White Collar Jobs, traders type* - After independence, special provisions were made in the constitution of India for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes (and also Scheduled Castes). Better educational facilities were provided. The reservation of fixed quotas in higher education and govt. jobs; political, social and economic contacts with non-tribals etc. have created this new group of tribals who are working as school and college teachers, as clerks and officers in govt. offices as nurses and doctors in hospitals. They are also engaged in contact work and self-employed as traders and merchants.

No specific tribe can be included in this type also, but tribes engaged in settled agriculture and already enjoying economic prosperity have benefitted more, while the hunters and shifting cultivators are, in general, languishing behind. The converted Christians; due to educational and financial advantage are also the major beneficiaries in this group. Munda, Oraon, Santhal, Gond, Bhil, Mina etc. are some of the tribes who have taken more advantage of new socio-politico-economic atmosphere in the country after independence.

### GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES

Many attempts have been made to classify the tribes of India on geographical basis. Guha (1955:28) divided India into three tribal zones (i) North & North-

East- Covering entire Himalyan region from Himachal Pradesh to Arunachal

Region State/UT	Population	Percentage of Tribal Population		
	1991 (In thousands)	with relation to total population in the state		
		1991	1981	1971
A. Himalayan Region				
(i) North-Eastern Himalayan sub-region				
1. Assam	2,874	12.82	10.99	10.99
2. Meghalaya	1,518	85.53	80.58	80.48
3. Arunachal Pradesh	550	66.63	69.82	65.09
4. Nagaland	1,061	87.70	83.99	88.61
5. Manipur	632	34.41	27.30	31.18
6. Mizoram	654	94.75	93.55	94.26
7. Tripura	853	30.95	28.44	28.96
8. Sikkim	91	22.36	23.27	
(ii) Central Himalayan sub-region				
9. Uttar Pradesh	288	00.21	0.21	0.22
(iii) North West Himalayan sub-region				
10. Himachal Pradesh	218	4.22	4.61	4.09
B. Middle India Region				
11. Bihar	6,617	7.66	8.31	8.75
12. West Bengal	3,809	5.59	5.63	5.72
13. Orissa	7,032	22.21	22.43	23.11
14. Madhya Pradesh	15,399	23.27	22.97	20.14
C. Western India Region				
15. Rajasthan	5,475	12.44	12.21	12.13
16. Gujrat	6,612	14.92	14.22	13.98
17. Maharashtra	7,318	9.27	9.19	8.86
18. Goa (with Daman & Diu.	12	11.54	11.33	10.88
19. Dadra & Nagar Haveli	109	78.99	78.82	86.89
D. South India Region				
20. Karnataka	1,916	4.26	4.91	4.69
21. Andhra Pradesh	4,200	6.31	5.93	3.81
22. Tamilnadu	574	1.10	1.03	1.26
23. Kerala	321	1.10	1.03	1.26
E. Island Region				
24. Andaman & Nicobar	27	9.54	11.85	15.72
25. Lakshadweep	48	93.15	903.82	92.90
All India	67,758	8.08	8.6	7.49

(Census could not be conducted in Assam in 1981)



Pradesh and other North-Eastern states. (ii) *Central or Middle Zone* - Covering West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujrat & Maharashtra. (iii) *Peninsular or Southern zone* - Comprising of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu, and Andman & Nicobar Islands and Lakshdeep Islands.

Dubey (1960) and Atal (1965) proposed a four-fold classification. Dubey's classification was same as that of Guha's first and third zones, but he divided the middle zone into two-carving out a Western zone comprising Rajasthan, Gujrat & Maharashtra.

Taking historical, ethnic and socio-cultural relation Roy Burman (1971) divided India into five zones. He separated the North from North-East, while rest was similar to that of Dube.

Vidyarthi & Rai (1976:66) also proposed a five-fold division. They suggested three sub-zones within one Himalayan zone, and a separate island zone comprising of A & N islands & Lakshdeep. The states of Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab & Haryana and the Union Territories of Delhi, Chandigarh and Pondicherry did not have any tribal population.

### SOME DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

- (a) During 1981-91, there was a slight decrease in percentage of tribal population in the country, though the net tribal population increased by 16 million, a growth rate of 31.24 % in the decade. In the previous decade, 1971-81, the corresponding growth rate was 35.81 %.
- (b) Nearly half of the total tribal population in the country reside in the middle India region comprising four states-Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.
- (c) There are 12 states/ UT's with more than one million tribals.
- (d) Six states- Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Bihar, Gujrat, and Rajasthan- have more than 5 millions tribals each.
- (e) Madhya Pradesh alone has nearly 15.4 million tribals (22.72 % of entire tribal population of the country).
- (f) Manipur with 94.75 % has a maximum percentage population in the state while U.P. has minimum (only 0.21 %).
- (g) The tribal population in India is comparatively youthful. Elders (+ 50 yrs.) constitute only about 12 % of tribal population. The children (0 to 15 yrs.) constitute about 40 % while adults (16 to 49 ) are about 48 %.
- (h) Bhil, Mina, Gond, Santhal are numerically the biggest tribes each with more than 3 million population.

## Chapter 10

### PROBLEMS OF INDIAN TRIBES

#### LAND-ALIENATION

Each tribal group is often identified with a particular territory, therefore, some scholars also suggest that "a tribe is a territorial group". Barring a few exceptions of some nomadic tribes, all the tribal groups are found to have emotional attachment with their land and habitat. Because of their sentimental attachment with their land the tribals have always resisted any outside interference. Tribal resistance against interference in their habitat and land system is reflected in various tribal revolts in the past, as well as failures of several tribal resettlement schemes in different parts of the country. Even today a number of developmental programmes of the central and various state governments are hanging in balance because of the resistance by the tribals, as the tribals take it as interference in their habitat and land system.

The tribal's love for the land can be explained by a pertinent example of the Chowra island of the Nicobar Archipelago. In 1974 a reservoir was constructed in Chowra - a tiny island barely three sq. kms. for the preservation of rain water, as there was acute shortage of drinking water in the island. No sooner had the personnels of the Public Works Department left the island after constructing the reservoir, the Chowrians unanimously decided to demolish the construction and throw the debris into the sea. This work was accomplished within 24 hours. The islanders explained that it would have caused death and disease in the island, if they had not wiped out the construction done by the foreigners. Such is the extent of resistance by the tribals against any foreign interference in their territory.

The history of land alienation among the tribals dates back to the British era. When the Britishers consolidated their power in India they appointed Zamindars and local rulers for the collection of taxes. Such local rulers were invariably non-tribals, who in turn, invited the non-tribal agriculturists *enmasse* to increase production. It was the beginning of tribal land- alienation across the country. Secondly, the commercial exploitation of forest also began during this period. The Britishers first needed quality timber for ship building, and next, the expansion of Indian Railways began in which large scale deforestation started. As a result, roads were constructed even in the impenetrable tribal areas and money lenders *sahukars* and petty businessmen began to infiltrate in tribal areas.



and usurped tribal lands. Various tribal revolts such as the *Tamar* revolt of 1784, *Birsa* Movement of early 19th century were but because of the aforesaid reasons.

There was yet another reason for such tribal upsurges during the British regime. The Britishers had the concept of private property in their mind. On the contrary, tribals considered land to be a clan or community property. When the Britishers began surveying the land, there was bound to be clash between these two concepts of individual property and communal property. This contradiction has also been the cause of various tribal upsurges. From the above discussion it is clear that whenever tribals have apprehended alienation from their land they have not only resented but often reacted violently.

The process of land-alienation of tribals which began during the British era was accelerated during the post-independence period. After India achieved independence urbanisation, industrialisation and exploitation of land and mineral resources began at an unprecedented scale. Big industries such as Heavy Engineering Corporations at Ranchi, Bokaro Steel City in Giridih, Bhilai Steel City in Madhya Pradesh and likewise many others, were established in different parts of the country, predominantly in the areas inhabited by the tribals. Similarly, Bailadila Iron Ore Mines in Bastar, Bauxite in Lohardaga, coal, mica in different districts of Bihar were explored. Big Hydel and Thermal Projects were also launched in many tribal areas. These developmental projects occupied hundreds and thousands hectares of tribal lands and in equal proportion the tribal families were uprooted from their original habitat. In most cases the compensations were either inadequate or were given so late that the entire tribal life and culture plunged into turmoil. Having been alienated from their land the poor and mostly illiterate and innocent tribals could not preserve the cash money that they received in compensation. As a result, the economic plight of the tribesmen became from poor to poorer. Under such circumstances the politicians got a fertile ground to play politics. The result is that today all the developmental projects have come to a grinding halt, because of tribal and local resistance. If earlier the uprooted tribals had been resettled adequately, probably such an impasse would not have occurred. Therefore it is the high time that the government should realise that (i) tribal lands must be protected at any cost (ii) resettlement of uprooted tribals must be done with great care and (iii) cultural rehabilitation of the uprooted tribals should also be taken care of.

The study of land-alienation by Surajit Sinha (1968) brought to light the nature and agencies associated with the land alienation. Its follow-up action led to the adoption of a number of Land-Alienation Regulations in different states of the country as also in Union Territories. For example Assam Land and Revenue Regulation (Amendment) Act, 1964, Bihar Scheduled Area Regulations 1969, Land Revenue (Amendment) Rule 1960 of Karnataka, Kerala Land Assignment Rules 1964, Land Revenue Code 1959 (Section 165) of Madhya Pradesh and

turmoil

1966 (Section 36) of Maharashtra, Orissa Scheduled Areas, Transfer of Immovable Property (by Scheduled Tribes) Regulation 1959 and amended in 1965, Rajasthan Tenancy Act, 1955 (Section 42, 43, 46A and 49A) a 16-year binding for land alienation in Tamil Nadu, Tripura Land Revenue and Land Reform Act 1968 (Section 197), Uttar Pradesh Zamindari Vinash and Bhumi Vyavastha (Sansodhan) Adhiniyam 1969, (Section 157K), West Bengal Land Reform (Amendment) Act 1965, Andaman and Nicobar Island (protection of Aboriginal Tribes), Regulation Act 1956, Oragnisaco Agraria or Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Protection of Scheduled Tribe Regulation Act of 1964 of Lakshadweep. The year 1975-76 was eventful in the sense that all State Governments took bold steps to eradicate land alienation and several new acts were put into operation. It is also significant to note that the constitutional protection under the Ninth Schedule has enormous provisions relating to Land Reform Acts.

In Bihar although an Act has been passed under which cases of tribal land alienation incurred since 1939 could be opened but there has been hardly significant cases of tribal land restoration. In Ranchi city alone tens of thousands of acres of land has been usurped by non-tribals through fraudulent methods. An analysis of the census data pertaining to 1961, 1971 and 1981 shows that the tribal communities have been gradually losing land in most states. The 1971 census shows a marginal increase in the number of tribal cultivators in some states. It is estimated that it might be due to fragmentation or sub-division of earlier holdings rather than declining trend of land alienation.

**Deficiencies in Laws** - In spite of a number of aforesaid Regulations and Acts it has been observed that neither the land-alienation of the tribals has stopped completely nor their alienated lands have been restored to the tribals by the different state governments. It has been mainly because of a number of deficiencies in the existing laws relating to land-alienation and restoration. For examples in some states legal provisions are applicable only to Scheduled Tribes living in Scheduled Areas or Notified Areas and do not apply to the tribals living inside these areas.

In addition to the above, there is a wide disparity in the application of limitation period for tribal land restoration. For example, whereas it is 30 years in Orissa and since 1939 in Bihar, in Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and Tripura only 12 years is allowed in cases of tribal land-restoration.

There is also absence of provision for initiation of *SUO- MOTO* action by the administrative authorities for detection and restoration of alienated tribal land. The authorities have to wait for the actual tribal owners to take initiative in this matter and file cases in the court for restoration of their land. This also delays the formers of land restoration. The tribals are generally less aware of land



documents. In land restoration cases documentary evidences are given supremacy over oral evidences. This also retards the process of land restoration. This is further added by the interference of High Court. The non tribals go to the High Court and get stay orders thereby *STATUS QUO* is maintained with possession of land invariably by the non-tribals. Ultimately an illiterate and poor tribal gets exhausted - psychologically and economically as well, and abandons the idea of fighting the case at all. Generally the court cases are very time taking which upsets a tribal.

Thus, there are a number of lacuna and loop-holes in the existing laws of which the non-tribals take advantage and land-alienation of the tribals continue in different states as before.

**Remedial Measures** - Two-fold remedial measures should be undertaken simultaneously with regard to solve the problems of land-alienation among the tribals viz. (1) Legal and constitutional measures (2) Mobilization of public opinion through massive programmes. Firstly, all the legal loop-holes should be plugged and more effective legal system for land restoration should be implemented. Provision may also be made for summary eviction of those who have taken possession of tribal land. Repeated offenders may be booked under preventive detention laws.

In order to ensure that the protective provisions pertaining to alienation of tribal land are not violated, Indian Regulation Act need to be ammended.

The tribals due to poverty are not able to fight long-drawn legal battles. In such cases State should be made a compulsory party so that the Government pleaders could defend the tribal interest.

Secondly, massive awareness programme among the tribals should be organized to mobilise the public opinion against tribal land-alienation. Tribal Panchayats should be made more effective to deal with such cases. In addition to the above it has been formed that land alienation among the tribals is more due to indebtedness. Therefore, easy credit and loan facility by banks and cooperatives should be provided to them so that they do not become an easy prey and victim of the private money-lenders, eventually either mortgaging or selling their land to the non-tribals. //

## INDEBTEDNESS AMONG THE TRIBES

According to a sample survey of the Planning Commission, the incidence of indebtedness among the tribals between 1975-76 to 1982-83 had increased from 14.47 per cent to 33.77 per cent. On an average the debt liability per household also increased from Rs. 419 in 1975-76 to Rs. 819 in 1982-83. With reference to an earlier data on an all India level conducted in 78 tribal villages of different states by 1961 Census the following results were obtained.

	Level of Indebtedness	Villages Surveyed
(i)	Very highly indebted (More than 50% households)	30
(ii)	Highly indebted (30% to 50% households)	12
(iii)	Average indebted. (15% to 30% households)	12
(iv)	Low indebted (5% to 15% households)	14
(v)	Very low indebted (below 5% households)	01
(vi)	Unspecified	05
(vii)	Data not available	04

(Quoted from Vidyarthi, 1976: 441)

From the above data it is clear that the incidence of indebtedness among the tribals has been on increase. The main cause of indebtedness has been abject poverty of the tribes. The tribal economy is generally identified with subsistence level. After independence the tribal population has also considerably increased whereas the land yield has not increased in tune with the rise in population. Although a lot of educational and employment opportunities have been provided to the tribals but the percentage of literacy is still low and the rate of unemployment is considerably high among them. According to one estimate over 85% of tribal people are still living below the poverty line and 48 per cent are still illiterate. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the tribals become an easy prey to the money-lenders. In every tribal area private money lenders can be found who are always eager and ready to advance loans to the tribals at a very high rate of interest. Several studies suggest that the poor and illiterate tribesmen are seldom able to return the capital money. They only pay the interest annually. There are instances that the tribals mortgage their lands in lieu of money which they require during marriage ceremonies, death rites or during other festive occasions. In some parts of the Palamau district of Bihar and the state of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh it is generally assumed that "Once a tribal in debt always in debt".

The district of Palamau in Bihar is also famous for bonded labour. Although a number of Acts and Regulations have been introduced but they are unable to check the system of bonded labour against the prowess of the landlords. The tribals borrow money from both the organised or institutional sources represented by Banks or Cooperative Societies, and the unorganised sources represented by private money lenders, shopkeepers, friends and relatives. According to an estimate, as far as unorganised sources are concerned, more than



72 per cent of tribals were found to have been indebted to private money lenders and the remaining met their credit and consumer requirements from shopkeepers, friends and relatives. In fact there are several loop-holes in the existing money-lending laws. At the same time the tribals also lack the awareness about sources of institutional finances and existing legal protection. The banks do provide loans to the tribals but to follow the complicated procedure to obtain loan and consumer credit from institutional sources generally desist the tribals to approach the bank officials. On the other hand the attitude of the Government and bank officials in granting loans to the tribals have been found to be indifferent. Whereas the private moneylenders are always willing to advance money to the tribals without much paraphernalia.

**Legislations** - Before independence the sub-committee on Excluded and Partially-Excluded Areas (other than Assam) had gone to the details of this problem and had suggested the government for prevention of exploitation of tribals, by money lenders. To quote from the Report "We (the committee) consider it necessary that in the Scheduled Areas moneylenders should not be permitted at all and that at any rate they should be allowed to operate under license and stringent control only. (Verma 1990 : 102).

After independence most of the states and union territories having tribal population have enacted laws to regulate the business of money lending and debt reliefs. The legislations relating to money-lending in various states and union territories are given in appendix.

Our experiences suggest that mere enactment of laws cannot solve the problem of indebtedness among the tribals, unless alternative credit facilities are provided for long-term, short-term, medium-term loans, and the procedures for procuring and returning loans are simplified. Of late, Large Area Multi-purpose Cooperative Societies (LAMPS), Primary Agricultural Cooperative Societies (PACS) and Cooperative Banks have been meeting the loan and other credit and consumer requirements of the tribals. However largely due to financial constraints and lack of administrative will these institutions have also failed to achieve the desired results.

To get the tribals rid of the indebtedness, besides the enactment of strict laws, several socio-economic measures should be adopted so that the tribals do not fall into the trap of money-lenders in times of crisis. A number of studies suggest that the tribals do not take loans to maintain their daily meals. Instead, they generally require considerable amount of money to meet the expenses of birth, death and marriage ceremonies etc. in the family, eventually becoming indebted to private money-lenders. Therefore, in addition to improving their economic condition they should also be educated to avoid extravaganza. All such socio-economic and legal measures adopted, simultaneously, can only improve

the fortune of the tribals and the problem of indebtedness can be effectively tackled.

## LITERACY AND EDUCATION AMONG THE TRIBALS

In spite of the fact that there has emerged a new stratum of enterpreneur businessmen, teachers, administrators, engineers, doctors and members of Defence Services among the tribesmen, the literacy rate as compared to the all India figure is found to be low among the tribals.

Literacy Rate Among Scheduled Tribes During 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 Census

Sl. No.	Name of States/U.T.	1961	1971	1981	1991
1.	Andhra Pradesh	4.41	5.34	7.82	17.16
2.	Assam	23.53	26.03	-	49.16
3.	Bihar	9.15	11.64	16.99	26.78
4.	Gujrat	11.69	14.12	21.14	36.45
5.	Haryana	—	—	—	—
6.	Himachal Pradesh	—	15.89	25.93	47.09
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	—	—
8.	Karnatka (Mysore)	8.13	14.85	20.14	36.01
9.	Kerala	17.26	25.72	31.79	57.22
10.	Madhya Pradesh	5.10	7.62	10.68	21.54
11.	Maharashtra	7.21	11.74	22.29	36.79
12.	Manipur	27.25	28.71	39.74	53.63
13.	Meghalaya	—	26.45	31.55	46.77
14.	Nagaland	14.76	24.01	40.32	60.59
15.	Orissa	7.36	9.46	13.96	22.31
16.	Punjab	16.46	—	—	—
17.	Rajasthan	3.97	6.47	10.27	19.44
18.	Sikkim	—	—	33.13	59.01
19.	Tamil Nadu	5.91	9.02	20.46	27.89
20.	Tripura	10.01	15.03	23.07	40.37
21.	Uttar Pradesh	—	14.59	20.45	35.70
22.	West Bengal	6.55	8.92	13.21	27.78
23.	Arunachal Pradesh	0	5.20	14.04	34.45
24.	Goa	—	12.73	26.43	42.91
25.	Mizoram	—	—	59.63	82.73
UNITED TERRITORIES					
26.	Andaman Nicobar	11.10	17.85	31.11	56.62
27.	Daqar & Nagar Haweli	4.40	8.90	16.86	28.21
28.	Chandigarh	—	—	—	—
29.	Delhi	—	—	—	—
30.	Lakshadweep	22.27	41.37	53.13	80.53
31.	Pondicheri	—	—	—	—
All India		8.53	11.30	16.35	29.60

According to 1991 Census the literacy among the Scheduled Tribes is 29.6 per cent as against the general literacy of 52.2 per cent. As far as male female ratio is concerned it is 40.6 per cent for males and 18.1 per cent for females. The literacy rate is found to be high in Nagaland (60.5%); Mizoram (82.7%); Meghalaya (46.7%) and Manipur (53.6%). On the contrary, in Andhra Pradesh it is merely



17.1 per cent in Madhya Pradesh 21.5 per cent, Orissa 22.3 per cent and Bihar 26.7 per cent.

It is also to be noted that literacy rate among tribals is not uniform. For example, in state of Bihar whereas the Oraons and the Mundas are highly literate and educated, the Birhors, the Asurs and many other numerically small tribal groups are least educated.

### Factors of Poor Literacy and Education Among the Tribals

1. **Poor Economic Factor** - Although most of the tribal people of India are agriculturists yet their economy basically remains at the subsistence level. As a result the tribals at their own, exert little effort to afford proper education. Whatever education the tribals have received so far has been because of efforts of the missionaries and the Central and the respective State Governments. Moreover, a tribal child, particularly that of a Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) is considered to be an economic asset in the family. In a hunting-gathering community a child assists his parents in all domestic and economic activities. Similarly in an agricultural community a child is most often supposed to graze cattle than to attend classes in a school. Interestingly, one of the authors of this book while working in the Nicobar Archipelago for his Doctoral works asked Bishop Johan Richardson, "Why are the Nicobarese children not sent to school?" Bishop replied, "If all our children go to school, who will climb the coconut trees?" Thus the tribals in general are not very aware of the benefits and rewards of modern education. Their abject poverty, prevents them from sending their children to schools.

2. **Socio-Cultural Factors** - Among several tribes socio-cultural factors have been mainly responsible for low literacy rate, particularly among the girls. First, the girls are not supposed to be the parental property. After their marriage, they live in their in-laws house, therefore, their parents are little interested in their studies. Secondly, if a girl child receives higher education, it is difficult for her parents to find an equally educated match for her, and Thirdly, in many tribal societies a girl child is married at an early age. One of the authors of this book also observed among the Khasas of Jaunsar Bawar area of Dehra Dun district in Uttar Pradesh that the parents were not interested to send their male child also to schools as they believed that after marriage the boys would not practice traditional polyandry, and consequently the family property would be further split in monogamous families.

In most of the families in India some kind of intoxication is necessarily consumed by the adult and young members. A tribal boy ever since his childhood sees it which also prevents him from taking proper interest in his studies.

**Other Factors** - Most of the tribal areas suffer from inadequate facilities of educational institutions boarding and lodging, etc. According to an estimate over

40 per cent of the educational institutions in the tribals areas are without buildings. The latest study conducted by Department of Education in 1988-89 suggest that the drop-outs at the primary level (i.e., I-V) is 64.53 per cent at the middle level (i-viii) 78.06 per cent and at the secondary level (i-x) 86.72 per cent. From the above table it is also clear that the percentage of drop-outs among the girls is higher than the boys.

In the tribal areas the problem of absentism of the teachers is one of the important factors affecting education. The author (Sahay) has observed in the Abujhmar area of Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh that teachers posted in different villages seldom come to school as they reside sometimes more than 30 kms. from the place of their posting. They have to walk atleast 30 kms. over undulating and densely forested terrain to reach the place of their posting.

The teacher student ratio is also often high in the tribal areas. It can be seen one teacher managing four or five classes in a day. It is but natural to adversely affect the primary education of the tribal children. It has been also observed that during the rainy season as well as agriculture season the school going children mostly are found absent in schools. They also escape from their schools during festive occasions or weekly market days. All these factors are collectively responsible for low literacy rate and education among the tribal people of India.

### NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION 1986

Article-45 of the Indian constitution mandated the states to direct its policy towards ensuring "free and compulsory education for all children until they completed the age of fourteen years". The first National Policy of Education was framed in 1968. Thereafter it was renewed in 1986. The National Policy on Education, 1986 is also known as "Peoples Policy", and it is more favourable to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Acharya Ramamurty Committee reviewed it and strongly recommended that education should be made socially relevant and meaningful. The committee also observed that adequate infra-structure should be established, teacher student ratio should be taken care of, hostels, particularly for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be opened in every districts. Tribal teachers should be preferred in tribal areas. Ashram Schools should be expanded and while implementing educational plans at the micro-level, the local needs should be taken into consideration.

**Remedial Measures** - It is hoped that if the recommendations of National Policy on Education 1986 are fully implemented, the national target of achieving literacy to all by the year 2005 can be achieved. It would be equally useful for the tribals and the non-tribals. While introducing the educational programmes in the tribal areas it has to be kept in mind that not only the bookish knowledge would be of help to the tribesmen but vocational education must be imparted to them in schools. The curriculum should keep in view the traditional local skills



and crafts. In the tribal areas more residential facilities should be provided to children who walk more than four Kms. to attend the schools, particularly in inaccessible tribal areas. Steps should be taken for setting-up more and more *Balwadi* and child rearing centres. Suitable nutrition programmes like mid-day meals should also be carried on in such centres to create among them an awareness about health and balanced diet.

Although the desired results with regard to tribal literacy and education have so far not been achieved but the prospects are not very discouraging. Today, we find tribals occupying key positions in political and administrative jobs. There are a number of tribal IAS, IPS, PCS Officers, doctors, and engineers, businessmen as also in the judicial services. Nevertheless, it has been found that lion's share of the constitutional privileges and safeguards as also Government facilities is usurped by a particular section of tribal population. It is the task of the Government machinery to ensure that all the facilities provided by the central and the state Governments with regard to literacy and educational programme reach the grass-root level of the tribal population.

### IMPACT OF URBANISATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION ON TRIBAL AND RURAL POPULATIONS

The tribal culture of India has undergone changes owing to several factors, such as impact of Hinduism, Christianity, or Islam, introduction of education by missionaries or Government, development of various means of communications etc; nevertheless, the greatest impact has been that of industrialization and urbanization. The obvious reason for this has been that tribal areas throughout the country are very rich as far as the mineral and industrial resources are concerned. During the British period the mineral resources of the country were only little realised and exploited. The first wake of industrialization was felt in Chhotanagpur with the exploitation of coal mining industry in Jharia in Bokaro and Karanpura coal fields in Dhanbad district in 1857, and installation of Tata Iron and Steel Factory in Jamshedpur in Singhbhum district in 1907 (Vidyarthi 1976 : 463). It was the beginning of urbanisation and industrialization in any tribal region of the country.

After independence this pace of industrialization and urbanization was accelerated. It was discovered that world's largest deposit of mica, and India's largest deposit of coal, iron, copper and adequate quantities of bauxite, limestone, phyllite, chormite, asbestos, graphite, kainite, sleatite and even uranium was to be found in Chhotanagpur in the state of Bihar. According to an estimate 42 per cent of the total mineral resources of the country is procured from this region only. It is also to be noted particularly that the region of Chhotanagpur which is otherwise called the *Jharkhand* i.e., the land of the forest is one of the most densely tribal populated areas of the country. Out of 29

different tribal groups of the state of Bihar atleast 25 tribal groups live in the different districts of Chhotanagpur.

Out of the 25 tribes living in Chhotanagpur the Birhors, Asurs, Birjias, Hill Kharias, Korwas, Mal Paharias, Paharias, Soria Paharias, and the Svans are from the Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) practicing either shifting cultivation or at the stage of food gathering and hunting. The remaining Oraon, Munda, Ho, Kharia, Kisan etc. are agriculturists.

Thus, one of the most important tribal areas of the country was suddenly exposed to the spurt of industrialization and subsequently urbanization. Besides Bihar, in other parts of the country also the impact of industrialization in the tribal areas was felt. For example, the installation of Bhilai Steel City in Durg and Bailadila, Iron Ore Mines in Baster district of Madhya Pradesh, Rourkela steel city in Orissa, Bokaro steel city in Bihar, Sriharikota Rocket Launching centre in Andhra Pradesh etc. all these big projects were launched in predominantly tribal areas. Moreover, a number of big and small Hydel Projects were also installed in hilly and forested areas inhabited by the tribals. Other than the aforesaid mega-projects, a number of important Government offices and institutions and small industrial units were also opened in many tribal districts of the country. It can be very safely assumed that all this had a powerful impact in the life and culture of the tribal groups, who till now lived a comparatively an isolated social and physical life.

Before we discuss the impact of industrialization and urbanization, tribals life and culture in detail let us examine the works of important anthropologists in this context.

As early as in 1966 V.K.R.V. Rao wrote an article in the Journal of Social Research (vol. IX, No. 2) under title - *Social Change and Tribal Societies*. According to him, "Chhotanagpur has been in the grip of industrial revolution, and this has led to a too rapid urbanization comparatively in a short span of time, leading this region to an industry-based urban explosion. Such an explosion in the heart of the tribal belt of middle India has led to 'cultural mutation', and the once isolated, homogenous folk and primitive communities are exposed and thrown open to get assimilated in the global network of urban-industrial civilization (Rao, 1966 : 3). Such a situation of 'Cultural mutation' among the tribal communities of Chhotanagpur and neighbouring area of Orissa created by 'industrial urban explosion' has been studied by a number of anthropologists like Vidyarthi (1970), T.R. Sharma (1958-59), G.S. Tandon (1959-60), Rajendra Singh (1967), G. Sarkar (1970) and P.K. Das Gupta (1973).

L.P. Vidyarthi has written two books with regard to urbanization and industrialization in a tribal area viz., *Cultural Configuration of Ranchi : A study of Pre-industrial City of Tribal Bihar*, (1970) and *Socio-Cultural Implications of*



*Industrialization in India : A case Study of Tribal Bihar*, Both the books were the products of projects sponsored by the Planning Commission of India. While the former book is concerned with the process of urbanization in Ranchi city, the latter dealt with a longitudinal Heavy Engineering Industrial Complex near Ranchi. Vidyarthi observed that "the Hatia industrial zone was characterised by an all-round homogeneity in terms of land scape, population, economy and a general style of life..... with the coming of the industrial town and the completion of construction work the situation in Hatia (a tribal village) has changed."

The Heavy Engineering Corporation is called "Mother Industry", and is one of its kind in the country. It attracted skilled and un-skilled people from different parts of the country particularly Orissa, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Kerala. The requirement of manpower worked as a 'pulling force' here. As far as the unskilled labour force was concerned it was compensated by the local tribals and non tribals as well, particularly those who were displaced. But for the skilled personnels the large scale influx of people from outside took place. This had direct impact on tribal life and culture. The interaction of the tribals at the social, economic, political and religious level increased over night which eventually changed the entire life style of the people. The rural tribals began imitating the life style of the non-tribals. As a result, all the money that they had received in compensation for their land were spent in extravaganzas, ultimately forcing them to live the life of a pauper. On the one hand, they lost their land, on the other and they spent all their money too. They had no other option but to work as unskilled labours in the factory receiving fixed amount of money as wages or salary, eventually falling in to the trap of money-lenders and become heavily indebted. The agriculture based economy has been replaced by industry-based market economy. The collapse of agriculture based economy had many side effects. The joint family system which was nurtured by agriculture gradually out of necessity broke into nuclear family. The tribals who were earlier used to their indigenous beverages such as rice beer (harin), today an *mohua* liquor began to purchase costly and offer spurious liquor from the market which damaged their health. They were also influenced by the other maladies of city life particularly crimes. If one looks at the crime chart of Ranchi district it is very easy to find that a considerable number of heinous crimes are committed by the formerly innocent and simple tribals. It was certainly because of heavy industrialization and urbanization in Ranchi district.

In the cultural sphere also a lot of changes could be observed in tribal life. Modern dress and ornaments were used by tribal women. Men could be found in pants, shirts and goggles with a transistor hanging around his shoulder. Instead of dancing in village *Akhra* for recreation, tribals boys and girls could be found flocking around the cinema houses of the city, thereby imitating their mates.

idols. Thus, their exposure to modernity and industry instilled in them the desire to live a luxurious life.

The two other post independence industrial centres, viz. the Patratu Thermal Power Project and the Bokaro Steel Plant were studied by Rajendra Singh (1967) and Joyanta Kumar Sarkar (1970), respectively. These studies also show that the impact so far felt is only in terms of disintegration of the traditional tribals and rural culture. Ironically, according to Singh, economically the most affected families are those who were displaced and lost their mainstay of life, agriculture. Although, they received money as compensation but as usual, in want of proper management the money was mostly spent in vain. On the other hand the rural and tribal people of the neighbouring villages were benefitted enormously. As the people from outside settled in the project area they needed green vegetables and other agricultural items. This was supplied by the neighbouring villages, necessarily at a high rate which enhanced their economy.

In this study of Bokaro Steel Plant, Joyanta Kumar Sarkar (1970) has also made similar observation. According to him, "the traditional village institutions like the *Jajmani* system, the cycle of festivals, rituals, the caste affiliation etc. have been completely disintegrated, and all round depression and despair seems to have affected the life of the uprooted villagers. The neighbouring villages, however, have been favourably affected by the Bokaro Plant".

The study of tribals in the industrial setting of Jamshedpur is of special significance as it reflects their adjustment to the industrial society within a period of seventy years. It is in contrast to the adjustment to the recent impact of public sector industrial townships such as Patratu, Bokaro, Ranchi, Raourkela or Bhilai. In his study, T. R. Sharma (1959-60) observed that 18 villages with an area of 16810.24 acres of land were occupied by the Tata Iron and Steel Company as early as in 1907. The 18 villages were inhabited by Bhumij, Santhals, Hos and other different Hindu Castes. Their economy was agricultural at the subsistence level. The uprooted families took shelter in the Bustees (a shanty town in the city). The first report surveying the life and living of Jamshedpur was undertaken in 1918 by Harold Mann, Principal, Agriculture College, Pune (Vidyarthi, 1976 : 468). This report remains the oldest survey of the city which throws light on the lopsided growth of the town. Mann reported that the tribal and semi tribal rural life of the area underwent a complete disintegration, Sarkar also observed that there was difference in the life style of the *Bustees* tribals and the tribals living in the neighbouring villages.

P.K. Das Gupta (1973) presented his doctoral thesis to the Calcutta University on the Industrialization on the Hos, a tribe in south Bihar. The background of his study has been the Ghinkpani Cement Factory in the district of Singhbhum. He threw some light on "the functional interdependence between productive



technology and other aspects of culture and mechanism of adjustment to a new organisation (ibid).

From the studies of the above scholars it appear to be clear that industrialization has affected the tribals in a negative way as well as positive way. In its negative aspect it has brought at many places the tribal culture at the crossroads. The dismantling of agriculture based economy, joint family system, and many of the socio-political and religious tribal institutions have whereas very adversely affected the life of the tribals, on the other hand, several studies like that of Das Gupta (1973) suggest that in and around the industrial areas the tribals have been found to be more conscious and aware of education therefore, higher percentage of literacy. They are also found more conscious with regard to health and hygiene, family planning, nutrition, sanitation, maternity and child care etc. as compared to their counterparts in non-industrial areas. It is also surprising that the skilled tribal workers are today found, interested in savings and banking too.

The situation is, therefore, not very discouraging. The need of the hour is that whenever an industrial unit is installed in a tribal area utmost care should be taken for their rehabilitation. After rehabilitation, the displaced families should be encouraged to adopt different income generating schemes to consolidate their economy. Two things must be kept clear in mind while discussing about the impact of industrialization and urbanization in tribal areas. First, that maximum potential of industrial and urban growth exist in the tribal areas. Secondly, that India can't afford to abrogate all the developmental projects in terms of industry, Hydel or Thermal projects, if she has to compete with other nations in the 21st century. Therefore, balanced approach, with proper ground work prepared by anthropologists and other social scientists, the rehabilitation of the uprooted tribals should be done so that not only are they physically rehabilitated but their cultural rehabilitation is also ascertained.

## FOREST POLICY AND TRIBALS

There exists a symbiotic relationship between the tribals and the forest. It is, therefore, not surprising that the tribals are often referred to as *VANYAJATI*, *VANBASI*, *GIRIJAN*, etc., meaning thereby "the dwellers of the forests or the hill". A particular Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) of Chhotanagpur (Bihar) is known as Birhor. Ethnologically, *BIR* means forest and *HOR* means man i.e., "man of the forest". Forests are very intimately associated with the tribal economy, life and culture. The tribals depend on forest for food, shelter, fuel, fodder for cattle, herbal medicine as also for cottage industries and agricultural implements. According to a study by Binoy Kumar Rai (1967) while a forest dwelling tribe like Birhor depends on forest to the extent of 90 per cent, the Hill cultivators Malers get 60 per cent of their livelihood from the forest and agriculturists Munda, Oraons and Hos depend on it to the extent of 45 per cent

(Vidyarthi and Rai, 1976 : 440). Most of the deities of the tribals reside in the forest. Thus any interference in the forest amounts to interference to tribal life and culture.

Before the close of the 19th century the tribals enjoyed absolute right over the forests of their respective areas. The first National policy on forest was formulated in 1894. Thereafter, the state began to manage the affairs of the forest. At the same time the commercial exploitation of forest also began. First, the Britishers indiscriminately cut valuable timber for ship building. Secondly, the Indian Railways began expanding for which huge amount of timber was needed to lay the railway tracks. All this had very adverse effect in the life of the tribals. The indigenous rights and privileges of the tribals and the forest resources were curtailed due to the forest policy.

The exact impact of this policy was not realised till independence as there was plenty of forests. However, the tribals on many occasions resented which is reflected in different tribal revolts. After independence the industrialization and urbanization in India started at an unprecedented rate. This had a very adverse effect in the life of the tribals. On the one hand large scale deforestation took place causing ecological imbalance, on the other, the tribals were prevented from making use of a forest even for their domestic purposes. In 1952 a New Forest Policy was introduced which recognised six vital needs (Verma, 1995 : 79).

1. Evolution of a system of balanced and complementary land use (with regard to shifting cultivation)
2. Checking of soil erosion,
3. Establishment of free land,
4. Creation of small woods for grazing and collection for fuel and for domestic purposes (for the tribals),
5. Supply of the timber for national needs, and
6. Realisation of maximum annual revenue.

The new forest policy withdrew the concessions granted to the tribals for free grazing in the forest. Instead it introduced grazing fee. It brought private forest under state control and it also discouraged the traditional practice of shifting cultivation of some tribes.

After the introduction of this policy the tribals who considered themselves to be master of the forest became their subjects. The traditional rights of the tribals over forests were reduced to mere concession. As a result, there was much hue and cry against this policy. The curtailment of the rights and the concession of the tribals very often resulted in conflict between them and the forest officers.

The worst sufferers of the deforestation and the curtailment of traditional tribal rights over the forest were the food gathering hunting and shifting cultivating



communities of India. Such as the Birhors, Asurs, Paharias, Souria Paharia, Savar, Mal Paharias of Bihar, Bodo Gadela, Khond Poorja, Konda Reddi of Andhra Pradesh, Abujmarias, Baigas, Hill Korbas of Madhya Pradesh, Juangs and a number of tribes in Orissa etc. As far as the agriculturist tribal communities were concerned, forest, for them served as secondary source of income. But for the aforesaid tribal groups forest was the only source of economy. Due to the different forest policies such tribal communities could neither cut the forest for agricultural purposes nor could they freely use the minor forest produce for enhancing their economy.

At this juncture several State Governments introduced resettlement schemes for rehabilitating these nomadic communities. Under the resettlement schemes, colonies were established with small pucca houses for such tribals and some lands were also provided to them to start cultivation. However, much less foresighted schemes for the upliftment of the tribal groups otherwise boomeranged. Within a short span of time the tribals abandoned the colonies constructed for their use and they returned to their old habitat.

Several social scientists including anthropologists have studied to ascertain the causes of the failure of such schemes. They are of the opinion that the symbiotic relationship between forest and the tribe was not seriously taken in to consideration before launching such resettlement schemes. Therefore they flopped.

The woes of the forest villagers and those living near or within the areas of National Parks and Sanctuaries were altogether more critical. The forest villagers though lived for a long time inside the forest and worked as forest labourers, but they neither received any *patta* for the land they cleared or cultivated nor their children could receive proper education. Those tribesmen who lived near the National Parks and Tiger Reserves were ordered to vacate their land. Besides, if they entered the forest to collect food, fuel or fodder they had to face two-fold dangers i.e. either to be arrested and punished by the forest officials or to become the prey of any ferocious animals. Moreover, they protested that if a tiger killed any person or animal, they received a paltry sum of money as compensation. On the contrary, if they killed a tiger or any other animal they were penalised and often sent to jails.

Sensing the mood and the resentment of the tribal people indifferent parts of the country government announced a New Forest Policy in 1988. However, by this time irreparable damage had been done to the forest resources of the country. Due to unholy connivance between the forest contractors and the forest officials on the one hand and large scale pilferage by the tribals and the non-tribals of forest woods and other minor produce of the forest, the ecological balance was at stake. Throughout the country the environmentalists demonstrated against the

indiscriminate cutting of forest and in many areas a number of developmental projects had to be stopped because of movements and demonstration. The Remote Sensing data reveal that hardly 12 per cent of the forest land was full of trees. For example, in Spiti (H.P.) the entire uncultivated area of 800 sq. k.m. was declared as forest land in which there were hardly 800 trees. (Verma, 1995: 81). Similarly in Rajasthan, Gujrat and Maharashtra large areas of land with hardly any tree was declared forest land. The irony was that the tribals who were traditionally recognised as protectors of the forest were branded as its destroyers. Whereas the forest contractors and the forest officials were more responsible for destruction of the forest, the charges were laid against the tribals to malign them.

The new forest policy was adopted on December 7, 1988. It envisaged that the tribal people must closely be associated in protection, regeneration and development of forest. In return, their domestic requirements of fuel woods, fodder, minor forest produce etc. should be allowed to be procured from the nearby forest. The rights and concession enjoyed by them traditionally were, to a great extent, restored by the new forest policy of 1988. The significant point in the new forest policy was that as per its recommendations 33.33 per cent of the total area of the country should be always kept as a forested area. It was also resolved that in the tribal dominated areas at least 60 per cent of the total forest must be preserved at any point time. The 1988 forest policy is also significant in the sense that for the first time the peoples participation was sought by the Government for the protection and preservation of forest resources. It is hoped that if the policy is sincerely adopted and the recommendations are fully implemented, it would not only restore the ecological balance of the nation but also pacify the agitated tribals who feel that the government has encouraged traditional life and culture by introducing several forest policies in the past.

**Marketing Organization for Forest Produce** - For the protection of tribal rights over the minor forest produce Government introduced in August 1987 a National Level Apex Co-operative Marketing Organization known as TRIFED i.e. Tribal Co-operative Marketing Development Federation of India. Limited. It provides support to the state Tribal Development Federations and State Forest Corporations for the inter-state and inter-national marketing of minor forest produce and other tribal product. Besides TRIFED in every state. Large Area Multipurpose Co-operative Society (LAMPS) has been operative in this work. About 24,00 LAMPS and 12 TDCCS i.e. Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation are today functioning in the country. However in spite of the fact that such organizations at the Central and State Level have been formed to look after the interest of the tribals over the minor forest produce, the result has been far from satisfactory. The reason behind such dismal performance of the above organizations has been that they have not been able to compete with the vested interest and the market forces dominated by the private businessmen. It is



too early to predict how far these organizations would be successful in facing the competition from such vested interests.

## DISPLACEMENT AND TRIBAL REHABILITATION

The problems of large-scale displacement of tribals and their rehabilitation in India began soon after independence. During the British time industrialization in India was comparatively at a lower scale. The reason was that Indian market was flooded with foreign goods mostly manufactured in Britain.

The first Prime Minister of India Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru envisaged particularly in the Second Five Year Plan that India needed mega-industries to achieve self-sufficiency. For industrialization at a higher scale power (energy) was also needed. As a result, big Hydel and Thermal Power Stations were also planned. It is to be noted that most of the mineral and power resources were to be found in the hilly and forested areas of the country; which were primarily, inhabited by the tribals. All this resulted into sudden exposure to industrialization and urbanisation by the tribals, who otherwise, lived in comparative geographical and social isolation. Due to the above developmental policies, the means of communications in the otherwise, inaccessible tribal areas improved and at many places large-scale displacement of tribal population took place.

Thus, in accordance with the "Big Push Theory of Economics", during the Second Five Year Plan the following mega-industries were established in the states of Bihar, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa viz., Heavy Engineering Corporation at Ranchi, Bokaro Steel City at Bokaro in Bihar, Durgapur Steel Plant in West-Bengal; Bhilai Steel City in M.P. and Rourkela Steel Plant in Orissa.

In the above industrial areas the main tribal population consisted of the Oraons, the Mundas, the Ho, the Kharia, the Santhals, the Korwa, the Baiga etc. It is significant to note that though the per centage of tribal population is higher in the north-eastern states, but numerically the largest numbers of tribals live in the aforesaid areas of the respective state. It is also to be noted that the above industrial areas have the greatest potential of mineral and natural resources, e.g., the plateau of Chhotanagpur in South Bihar alone provide approximately forty-two per cent of the total mineral resources of the country. From Iron, Bauxite, Mica and Coal to Uranium is also found in Chhotanagpur. Besides the mineral resources, these areas are parts of the Gondwana land. All the important rivers such as Damodar, Suwarna-Rekha, North Koel, South Koel, Sone etc. flow through the hilly tracts in this area. The catchment areas of these rivers are such that several big Hydel Projects have been proposed for construction and there are already many such projects completed. The proposed projects are the Koel Karo Hydel Project and Suwarnrekha - Hydel Project. The projects that have been completed are Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC), Sikidiri Hydel

Project and so on. Besides the Hydel projects, a number of big industries in Chhotanagpur such as Heavy Engineering Corporation at Ranchi and Bokaro Steel City have been installed.

The effect of the aforesaid projects has been that a large number of tribals have been displaced. Although the compensation was paid to the affected families, but proper attention for their rehabilitation was not given at the time of construction. As a result, on the one hand, the displaced families have been uprooted from their natural habitat and, on the other, in want of sustainable rehabilitation most of them have become from poor to poorer. Not only this, their cultural fabric has also been dismantled for which they have been suffering from identity crisis.

The failure of proper resettlement of the displaced tribals in these areas has affected the proposed projects very adversely. For example, the Koel-Karo Hydel Project has been hanging in balance for over four decades. The same is the fate of many such projects in different parts of the country such as Sardar Sarovar Dam Project, Tihri Garhwal Dam Project, Silent Valley Project etc. On one pretext or another, not only in India but in other parts of the world too, the big hydel or Industrial projects are being resisted by the local people, particularly in the Third World Countries.

Not only the resettlement of the displaced persons from the project areas has been failure, but the other resettlement schemes of the government have also met the same fate. For example, in the early 1950s the nomadic Birhor tribe of South Bihar and Maler - the shifting cultivating tribal of Santhal Pargana were resettled by the state government. Colonies of 'Pucca' houses were constructed for them, some hectares of land were granted to them and initially cattle and seed money were also given to them so that the Bihors could abandon nomadism and the Maler could start plough cultivation and became settled agriculturists.

A number of studies on the failures of the above schemes have been done by anthropologists. Professor Vidyarthi suggested that in the above resettlement schemes the implications of 'Nature-Man-Spirit Complex' of the tribals as well as their felt needs were completely ignored, hence the schemes flopped.

Whereas Vidyarthi's observations on the failure of resettlement schemes are quite pertinent, it can also be added that the follow-up programmes for sustainable development of the tribals were also not taken up by the government machinery resulting into the failure of such schemes.

**Sustainable Development of the Tribals** - The present day resentment by the tribals and local people against the developmental projects in the country has raised enormous controversial issues such as (i) What should be the concept of development; (ii) Whether there is any contradiction between the national development and the tribal development? and (iii) What is to be meant by the sustainable development?



Majority believe that the growth in per capita income or the Gross-National Product (GNP) is the criterion of development; some others consider growth of literacy or growth in health and hygiene manifests the development of a group. However, it is to be noted that economists clearly distinguish between growth and development. Whereas the growth is concerned with improvement of one part or sector, the development is conceived as the balanced and overall improvement of a body or society. Thus, if only the per capita income of a group is increased by certain effective measures, without taking into consideration the other aspects of the life and culture of the groups it may not be called development. The anthropologists, generally, assume that development includes overall improvement in the quality of life of a group.

The second issue that whether there is contradiction between national development and tribal development is often debated among the planners and academicians. According to one school of thought more priority should be given to the overall national development than the development of isolated tribal groups. Another school suggests that owing to any developmental projects if the interests of local groups are adversely affected, in that case the said project must not be allowed to takeoff at all. It is for this reason we find that a number of national level hydel and other developmental projects have been stopped due to agitations. Today, it has become a fashion to bring any developmental project to a grinding halt in the name of environmental pollution or degradation. The Koel karo Hydel Project in South Bihar has been pending for over four decades.

As a result of such adversities, heavy loss of national exchequer takes place. According to one estimate the cost of installation of any national project is escalated by seven per cent every year.

Such antagonism to the development works in the Third World Countries. Particularly in India, has become a menacing problem. In the recent years an international platform has also surfaced in the name of 'Indigenous Population Groups' to look after the problems of indigenous population. This group has branches all over the world and periodically they hold meetings in different parts of the Globe to discuss the interests of the autochthones as also to chalkout strategies to protect the local people from manifold exploitations. However, eye brows have been raised against the functioning and the motives of the indigenous population group.

In their 1992 meeting at *Penang* they presented a charter of demands which included (i) The demarcation of the boundaries of the indigenous population. (ii) right over the forest and natural resources within their territories and (iii) right of self-determination by the such groups.

As far as the earlier two clauses are concerned, there is hardly any inconsistency, but the third clause i.e., the right of self-determination is certainly not acceptable

to any country. As for as India is concerned, initially, she favoured the organisation of Indigenous Population Group. But now-a days it has created a lot of developmental problems in the country. Many developmental projects are being resisted by the members of this organisation. Above all, if the third clause i.e., the right of self-determination is granted and accepted by the state then the country would be split into as many number as that of the tribal groups. This group has also received recognition by the International Labour Organisation. (ILO).

In this connection a case of Australia is worth mentioning which has evolved into a major conflict in the country. Although Australian Law had considered no owners before the European Coloniser arrived in 1788, scientists theorise that Australian aborigines have lived on the continent for more than sixty thousand years. In this connection the 'WIK' and 'Thayorre' aborigin communities which wanted to claim their tribal ownership of land, leased by state government to ranchers, farmers and mining companies, took their case to the High Court, Australia's highest Judicial body. The case is known as the WIK Decision.

In 1992 the High Court recognised the right of aborigines. In December, 1996 the High Court again reiterated its stand. However, there are practical problems in granting land rights to the natives who number about 3,30,000 in a total population of 18 million. It is apprehended that Australia's economy will be hampered if the aboriginals rights are acknowledged. Thus, all over the world such contradiction between the national development and the local interest continues unabated.

The third issue is that of sustainable development and sustainable rehabilitation of displaced tribal population. At present, sustainable development is a burning topic among the academicians and policy makers. Sustainability, as defined by Brundtland Commission, is a holistic notion, and as such all aspects of system need to be included in it. It has become multidimensional aspect including ecology, economics and cultural ethos. Besides, it manages the rate at which one can exploit the exhaustible natural resources in a given region. Therefore, the benefit of cost analysis of any developmental project should be taken into account in terms of long run effect.

The Third World Countries like India cannot reduce the pace of economic development. To ensure better quality of biotic and abiotic aspects of nature it has to frame eco-environmental policies. Under such circumstances, not only the environmental sustainability is the need of the hour but the over all qualitative improvement of socio-economic fabric of society needed special attention.

Sustainable development is not contradictory to the progress at the macro or micro level. Through sustainable development, our environment can be protected, our economy can grow and our society can be well off, all simultaneously. For the success of sustainable development 'participatory' and 'de-centralised'



resource management is needed. For sustainable development and sustainable rehabilitation of a displaced group the following important points should be taken into consideration.

- (i) The natural resources of any kind should be exploited to the extent that ecological imbalance is not caused.
- (ii) Measures should be undertaken to ensure the renewable of natural resources for the future generation.
- (iii) A large and adequate amount of revenue from the exploitation of natural resources or from the income of any developmental project should be spent for the welfare of local population.
- (iv) Merely compensation does not rehabilitate a displaced population. It is true that the 'land for land demand' of the affected population can not be met with, but as far as practicable, uprooted persons must be physically rehabilitated with, atleast, the provisions for basic amenities of life.
- (v) Besides physical rehabilitation, their 'cultural rehabilitation' should also be taken into consideration as far practicable.
- (vi) Once physically and culturally a group is rehabilitated, there after continuous 'feed-back' is necessary. Such feed back can best be provided by Sociologists and Anthropologist.
- (vii) After necessary feed back, suitable Income Generating Schemes should be introduced among the displaced groups so that they can sustain economically even after being uprooted from their natural habitat.

If the above considerations are appropriately taken into account then there is little room for the failure of developmental projects as well as rehabilitation schemes of any government.

### TRIBAL HEALTH NUTRITION & HYGIENE

The state of health nutrition & hygiene among the tribals can be gauged from the fact that according to one study by Amar Kumar Singh & et. al (1987) -- "The sad story of this tribal community (of Ranchi district of Chhota Nagpur region of south Bihar), which, after four decades of independence continue to be overwhelmingly illiterate (81%), poor (58% having monthly income of Rs. 200 & less and another 31% between Rs. 200-400) and unhealthy (29% families reporting illness)."

The article further adds "less than 8% of the children were immunised. Two thirds of the children under five were malnourished, 44% having severe malnutrition. A large majority of the sample (71%) took tobacco, mainly in the form of raw leaves called *Khani*, chewed with lime. Most of them (89%) drank alcohol, mainly *Haria*, a home brewed rice-beer. The daily consumption of meat, fish, egg & milk was by less than 1%, of pulse by a small 8% and 65% did not eat green vegetables. (ibid).

In order to have a more accurate idea about the condition of health, hygiene & nutrition it would not be inappropriate to quote a few more lines from the same article which adds "Two thirds of them did not take bath daily; the percentage of women being as high as 90. Nor did they wash their personal clothes (91%) and cleaned their nails (95%) regularly."

The study further suggested that the tribal women were married generally at the age of fifteen and had six children, two of them dying in her life time. The average tribal family had 7 persons with only about two rooms to live in. Having been deprived of such basic physical facilities they lived in squalor & garbage with pigs and hens, without electricity, sanitary latrines, ventilation, outlet for smoke, drainage & sewage. It is also reported that less than four percent had scientifically correct knowledge of and attitudes to physical & mental health, diet & nutrition, and family planning & child care.

One of the authors (Sahai) has worked among several tribal communities living in different ecological settings of the country. Such as the Nicobarese of Nicobar of Archipelago, Khasas of Jaunsar Bawar areas of the Himalayas of UP, Abujh-Marias of Baster and Oraon, Munda, Asur Birhor etc. of Chhota Nagpur. In spite of the fact some of the tribes are economically much stronger than others, yet the condition of health & hygiene is not very different. The reason behind it is perhaps illiteracy.

Whereas the Nicobarese are economically stronger than many of the tribal groups of the main land yet they are suffering from a number of diseases such as micro filaria, venereal diseases, colour blindness etc. Barring the Christians of course, the Nicobarese seldom take care of their personal cleanliness. Because of betel chewing the teeth of the Nicobarese, particularly women are found shining black. The traditional belief is that the blacker the teeth of a Nicobarese woman, the more loyal she is considered to her husband. Due to paucity of drinking water, the Nicobarese (barring the Christians) seldom brushed their teeth and take of fresh water bath. The chowries spend weeks together in general while making a canoe. During this period, they suffer enormously with the bite of mosquitos & other insects. This gives rise to a number of skin diseases. The author (Sahai) was surprised to see that the Nicobarese women, children, their pet dogs & pigs all eating & taking different items of foods on the same pot.

Similar is the case of the Khasas of Dehradun district of UP, economically they are not unsound but the living condition of in their homes are highly unhygienic. Living at a high altitude of over 8000 ft. they definitely face the drinking water problem, hence, bath only, seldom. But, They keep their cattle below their sleeping rooms which is erected on wooden poles. The stinking smell of the cattle dung & urine becomes unbearable when one enters into the house of a Khasa in Himalayas.



Thus, whereas the Chhota Nagpur tribals are found unhealthy, unhygienic & suffering from malnutrition due to poverty, the Nicobarese & the Khasas live an unhygienic life because of illiteracy, ignorance & lack of proper medical facilities.

With regard to malnutrition in tribal children under five, the study conducted by Amar Kumar Singh (1987) suggests that only a quarter of tribal children in Ranchi district of south Bihar have normal nutrition, and shockingly 44% had severe malnutrition. The percentage of malnutrition among the girls was 47% and that among the boys was 42%. As already stated, the daily consumption of meat, fish, egg & milk was less than 1%. Although, many tribal families kept a few chickens in their houses and actually 76% of them had milch animals, but they could not afford to consume these, instead they sold them in the market to earn a few rupees to support their bare existence.

The above examples clearly indicate that the tribal population in India in general live in poor condition with regard to health & hygiene and most of them suffer from malnutrition or under nourishment, particularly the children.

The factors behind such state of affair are manifold, such as --

1. Poverty
2. Illiteracy
3. Problems of contaminated drinking water
4. Cultural Factors
5. Poor medical facilities

Economically, the tribals have been divided into the following categories -- (1) Food gatherers & hunters (2) Horticulturists (3) Artisans (4) Shifting cultivators (5) Agriculturists. The economy of all the above categories are considered as subsistence level economy. Even the agriculturists don't have much of surplus production. The technology that they employ is traditional i.e. plough cultivation. The agricultural tribes of Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh as well can be found in different parts of the country working as labourers either in the tea gardens of North-East or in the forest department of Andaman & Nicobar island or in the brick kilns of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana or Punjab. Only during the Monsoon, they return to their native land for cultivation. Lack of proper irrigation prevent them from making use of their land throughout the year. Thus, their poor economic condition does not facilitate them to take adequate care of their health, hygiene and nutrition.

Because of illiteracy & ignorance, they are also found taking little care of their personal cleanliness which results into several types of skin diseases. The houses in which they live, generally lack ventilation, hardly there is out let for smoke; and so they keep their pet, kids & animals too in the rooms in which they sleep themselves. None of them, except the educated tribals, use mosquito net or

any repellent. The author (Sahai) observed in Chawra island of the Nicobar Island that over 8% of population had swollen legs i.e. they suffered from elephantiasis. It was certainly because of microfilaria. Even now all the tribal area are prone to malaria.

Contaminated drinking water is perhaps the most important factor for tribal ill-health. As we know, the tribals live mostly in the hilly & forested areas, where even after five decades of independence there is acute shortage of drinking water. Although, the public health departments (PHDs) of all the states have tried to install handpipes through boring deep into the earth but once in the handpipes get out of order, it is seldom repaired. In such cases, the tribals again resort to natural sources of drinking water which are most often contaminated.

The Khasas have to fetch drinking water from far off places from their residence. The chaurians carry hundreds of coconut shells to Teressa to fetch drinking water. According to several studies the main cause of illness in the rural & tribal areas of the country has been because of water pollution.

The cultural factors sometimes, also contribute to poor health of the tribals. Almost all the tribals of the country are found to consume intoxicant of one kind or another. Whereas the Chhota Nagpur Tribes consume *Haria* rice beer. The Bastar tribals consume *Sali* the Nicobarese consume *Toddy*. Besides, the above indigenous intoxicants all tribals are found inclined to liquor (alcohol). Drinking liquor is considered as an integral part of their culture. Government of India as also, the State Governments of the tribal Districts legally allow the tribals to brew liquor in their homes. Any ceremony organised at the family or village level among the tribals is followed by excessive consumption of alcohol. This adversely affects their health.

In some parts of the country, the tribals are so superstitious & conservative that they do not allow any developmental work to be introduced in their areas. Elsewhere in this book, it has been stated how the Chaurians believed that any modern introduction in terms of infrastructure would cause the wrath of evil spirits and death and disease would occur in the island. Only because of the above belief in 1974, they demolished the reservoir constructed in the island by the Public Works Department.

The early marriage of girl child is also an important factor for the poor health of the tribal women.

Very high cost of allopathic medicines particularly the antibiotics, as also the poor medical facilities in the tribal areas are the causes of tribal ill-health. Although, the primary health centres were introduced in India with the very first five year plan, and in subsequent plans the number of such centres increased considerably but the infrastructure is still far from satisfactory. Whereas the number of primary health centres in the first plan was only 725, in the sixth plan



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## EXPLOITATION AND DEPRIVATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES/SCHEDULED CASTES AND OTHER BACKWARDS CLASSES.

All types of exploitation and deprivation of the Scheduled Tribes have been discussed at length in Chapter X. In this chapter, therefore, exclusive discussion on the exploitation and deprivation of Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes is being attempted.

The Exploitation of Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes has been deep rooted in the stratified Hindu social structure. Any attempt to examine the conditions of Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes can not be possible unless the very emergence of caste system in India is examined thoroughly in its historical perspective.

**Ancient Period** - According to Tenth Mandal of the *Rigveda*, the Brahmans originated from the mouth of Lord Brahma, the Kshatriya from the arms; the Vaishyas from the abdomen and the Shudras from the feet. Therefore, hierarchically the Brahmans occupied the highest stratum in the society, their job being teaching and learning the ultimate knowledge.

The Kshatriyas protected the society, therefore, they took up to arms; the Vaishyas were the food producers, therefore, they took up to agriculture; and the Shudras occupied the lowest stratum and were assigned to serve the upper three classes, who were also considered '*dvij*' (i.e. The twice born).

According to scriptures the society during early *Vedic* period was more or less egalitarian. A man was primarily identified by his occupation and not merely by birth. Social status was thus achieved not 'ascribed'. Even a Shudra could achieve the status of a '*dwija*' (i.e., Brahman, Kshatriya, or Vaishya) by merely changing his 'role' in the society and vice-versa.

However, during the end of the later *Vedic* period (around 600 B.C.) the situation began to change. The identification of a person was ascribed since his birth. It could no more be achieved. Therefore, the son of a Brahmin was always a Brahmin; and the son of a Shudra was always a Shudra; and likewise with the other two classes. The remarkable change could easily be discerned from the fact that whereas during the early *Vedic* period even a shudra could recite the hymns of the *vedas*. He was strictly forbidden to do so by the end of the later *Vedic*

Period. Henceforth, the deprivation of the Shudras and some groups of the Vaishyas started.

Gradually the situation became from bad to worse and involved greater social and economic rigidity. By the time when the *Manu Smriti* was compiled, if an erstwhile Shudra recited or heard the *vedic* hymns his tongue was to be cut out and molten glass was to be poured in his ears. *Manu*, the ancient Law Maker, further prescribed that - "*Doing one's own caste duty badly was superior than serving other's caste duty well*".

During the Gupta period (320 A.D. - 450 A.D.) the trade and commerce began to flourish, and so began to improve socio-economic conditions of the Vaishyas. It improved to the extent; that according to some historians even the Gupta Kings were the Vaishyas. However, the lot of the Shudra continued to be same.

### Early Medieval Period (800 A.d.-1200 A.D.)

During the early medieval period there was an apparent decline of trade and commerce in India. It was a period of feudalism. The petty kings and feudal lords were mostly engaged in feudal wars. As a result, the trade and commerce gradually deteriorated and reached its lowest ebb. The Vaishyas and Shudras both resorted to agriculture. Whereas the condition of the shudras was better than before as they engaged themselves in agriculture, the vaishyas were the sufferers. During this period intermarriages (*Anulom Pratilom*) between different caste groups took place abundantly resulting into proliferation of different castes.

According to '*anulom*' i.e., hypogamy, a man from a higher caste hierarchy was allowed to fetch wife from the lower caste hierarchy. Thus a Brahmin could marry a kshatriya, Vaishya or Shudra girl; a Kshatriya could marry a Vaishya or Shudra. *Pratilom* i.e. hypergamy was a rare phenomena where a low caste man could bring wife from higher caste.

### Medieval Period

During the medieval period, there was slight change in the status of Shudras and the Vaishyas. It was the period when muslims had consolidated firmly their power in India and the Moghul empire had been well established. Trade and commerce; art and architecture considerably developed and a number of cities like Agra, Jaunpur, Ajmer, Surat, had emerged. However, the lot of the farmers still continued to be bad as heavy taxes were demanded from them by the kings and local rulers. There are instances during the time of Akbar that the farmers fled from their villages because of the fear of landlords and the royalties.

### British period

During the British period, the status of weaker sections of society changed drastically due to several factors. As a result, their status became from bad to worse. In order to rule the country, the Britishers appointed new landlords who



exploited the mass indiscriminately in order to give taxes to the Britishers. Trade and commerce was entirely in the hands of Britishers who sold their goods prepared in Britain, although the raw material was procured from India. In addition to that the European system of education was introduced in India which was primarily received by the upper castes. The education was completely out of reach of the weaker sections of society. Due to commercialization of agriculture in the interests of the Britishers; the indigenous craftsmanship relegated into oblivion. Owing to the above factors the condition of the Vaishyas also became no better than the Shudras.

Nevertheless, by the first quarter of the twentieth century the situation began to change. The National movement was completely in the hands of Congress led by Mahatma Gandhi. However, some of the leaders within the Congress were opposed to Gandhi. Such leaders, gave impetus to different 'Kisan' movements. On the other hand, Gandhi called for the abolition of untouchability and called the depressed classes as 'Harijan'. A number of leaders among the depressed classes also emerged such as B.R. Ambedkar, Narayan Guru, Jyotiba Phule etc. Thus, an awakening among the depressed classes and farmers took place. The result was that a number of political leaders of this time raised their voices against the exploitation and deprivation of the weaker sections of the society. All this had a powerful impact after India gained independence in 1947 and her own constitution was framed.

### Free India

Though India gained independence on August 15, 1947, but her own Constitution was adopted on 26th January, 1950. In the new constitution of the Republic of India a number of provisions were made for the uplift of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and socially and educationally other weaker sections of the society. Nevertheless, the concept of Backward Classes gained momentum after the institution of Kaka Kalelkar Commission in 1953. As far as the affairs of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections were concerned, in the Directive Principles of the state policy and in the different articles of the Fundamental Rights of the new constitution, the provisions for protection and promotion of their lot were ensured. After Kaka Kalelkar's report in some states like Bihar, Backward Classes were divided into Annexure I and Annexure II. In Annexure I those groups of Backward Classes were included who were socially and educationally at the lowest level. In Annexure II such groups of Backward Classes were included who were considered comparatively more advanced.

According to the constitution every Indian citizen had equal rights, but in practice the dominance of upper castes still continued.

Since the upper castes were economically, socially and educationally more advanced for several generations, therefore, the government jobs were mostly held by them and in political affairs also they enjoyed predominance. Thus, in

principle, according to the constitution, the exploitation of SC/ST and Backward Classes had been stopped, but in practice it continued, particularly in the rural areas. In spite of the provisions in the Directive Principles of the state policy and in the Fundamental Rights the exploitation and deprivation of the Scheduled Castes continued in the country even after several decades of independence. Even in the south where the Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes have been more organised it was not uncommon to hear that member of a Scheduled Caste was not allowed to enter into the temples. In the rural areas they were still prevented from fetching drinking water from the wells in the areas predominantly held by upper castes. It is everybody's knowledge that after the statue of Madan Mohan Malviya was garlanded by Jag Jivan Ram at Varanasi, the upper caste men washed the statue with Ganga water.

All this was chiefly because of the extremity of poverty and in most cases landlessness among the scheduled castes. However, the situations have changed drastically in North India too. In the early 1980s, the scheduled castes in north India began to politically organise themselves under the leadership of Kanshi Ram who formed 'Bahujan Samaj Party' (BSP). The meteoric rise of BSP can be gauged from the fact that today the largest states of the country i.e. U.P. is headed by Mrs Mayawati who belongs to Scheduled Castes. At the all India level also the President of the Republic of India Dr. K.R. Narayanan is a member of the Dalit Community.

As far as exploitation of Backward Classes is concerned, it has never been as grim as those of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. On the contrary, some of the groups among the Backward Classes were economically more sound than many of the upper castes.

Gradually the situation began to change after two decades of independence. It was a reality that numerically the SC/ST and OBC's constituted approximately 80 per cent of the total population. The adult franchise in the new democratic set-up opened new horizons for them. They gradually realised that on their numerical strength they can easily capture political power. Once they become politically stronger, they would simultaneously become economically and educationally powerful. Such an awakening started earlier in South India. Around mid seventies the Backward Classes began to organise in North India and in 1978 the Mandal Commission was constituted.

The recommendations of the Mandal Commission Report were not implemented until 1993. Thereafter the other Backward Classes have emerged as a powerful political force in India to reckon with the emergence of OBCs as a powerful political force in Hindi speaking states can be realised from the fact that in the times to come there is no hope of any upper caste to become a Chief Minister in these states.



## Chapter 12

### HISTORY OF TRIBAL ADMINISTRATION POLICIES & PLANS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

In Historical times, during the days of Imperial Mauryas special attention was paid to the people living in the far flung areas. There was a minister known as '*Ant Mahamatya*' for the welfare of those people living in the forests. But it were British rulers who, for the first time, extended the arms of government most seriously to the inaccessible hilly regions which were consigned to oblivion.

The tribal policy can fully be appreciated in two phases:-

- (i) Planned change in British tribal India,
- (ii) Planned change in free tribal India with Five Year Plans.

The British tribal India Policy was framed to isolate tribals from the main stream of national life. When Warren Hastings became Governor General of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1774 under the provisions of Regulating Act 1773, special tasks were started for bringing transformation in socio-cultural life of the tribals and bringing them under the pale of civilization. The administrators ruling these inaccessible parts of the country were non regulatory. Augustus report is better known as Regulation 1896, under this the special administration was removed from Rajmahal hill and Diwani and Faujdari rights were given to local chiefs. Relation to zamindars were broken. In 1874 Scheduled District Act No. 14 was passed. Under this the Governor of the Council could make any law for the local areas. These administrators were, generally, military officers like Dent and Wilkinson who suppressed the great Kole Rising of 1832. Wilkinson's Report of 1837, on the basis of 1833 by Bentick regarded tribal areas to be guided by their own primitive laws and under Governor-General's Council. They were not motivated by utilitarianism and humanism which were considered most desirable. Against these military administrators in the turbulent tribal areas, the peaceful and non-turbulent regions were governed by Regulatory rules where the officers discharged both judiciary and revenue duties. When the British rulers realised that these turbulent areas could not be ruled by force, they adopted other measures and created many Acts like Santhal Pargana Act 1855 to rule effectively on them. When Pax Britannica was thought meaningless without the religion of Christ, a thorough and systematic induction of Christianity was started.

started in tribal areas. They were activated by an obligation to convert our erring brethren to the faith of Christ.

On the eve of Mutiny and India's first struggle for independence, the British rulers realised that paternal despotism would be the best way to rule over India. Therefore, in 1874 Scheduled District Act was passed. After this act 'Partially Excluded Areas' and 'Wholly Excluded Areas' were created in the Acts of 1919 and 1935 to exclude tribal areas from the purview of legislature. This exclusion, to a great extent, served the British purpose of keeping the tribal areas isolated, away from the mainstream of national life. However, even these steps of British rulers did not prevent the tribals from taking active part in the freedom struggle. In spite of the above isolationist policies by the British rulers, the tribals responded to the call of Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders. Many tribals in all parts of our country attended the conferences of Indian National Congress. They freely participated with other people in 'Non-Cooperation Movement' of 1920 and 'Flag Satyagraha' of Nagpur in 1923. The national leaders were anxious to reintegrate the tribal society with the mainstream of national life. They raised protest against the British Policy of isolation through protection. When Ministries in different states were formed in 1937, many committees were formed in the province of Bihar, Orissa, Bombay and Madras to inquire into the conditions of tribals. When these ministers resigned in 1939, no new policy of tribal welfare was started till independence in 1947.

Encouraged by the works of A.V. Thakkar, Dalton, Risley, Grigson, Hutton, S.C. Roy, B.S. Guha, Verrier Elwin and Missionaries like Knowles, Wood Mishap, Nostrol, Bodding and Hoffmann, our national leaders adopted better policies for tribal welfare and their development.

**Policies in Free India** - The Constituent Assembly in free India, accepted tribal problems which became an integral part of the development of Indian people as a whole. The policies became not of isolation of tribals instead, to integrate them in the mainstream of our national life. The governments, Central as well as States, adopted legislative, protective and promotive policies for the development of tribals.

Articles like 15, 16, 17, 19, 23, 25, 29, 35, 46, 244, 275, 330, 332, 334, 335, 338, 339, 341, 342, 366, 371 A, B, C and Fifth and Sixth Schedules regarding the safeguards for the tribals were implemented in free India under direction of our constitution. (Detailed descriptions regarding these articles have been discussed elsewhere in this volume.) Besides these legislative policies, the governments at Centre and States adopted protective measures. Under these protective measures, non-tribals have been banned to penetrate into tribal areas without prior permission of the governments. In addition to that a number of other Acts and programmes were introduced among the tribals to solve their problems of land



Under the promotive and welfare policy of tribal development the Central and State Governments started many programmes such as MADA, Tribal Development Blocks (TDB), Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP), Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programmes (RLEGP), Large Scale Agricultural Multipurpose Societies (LAMPS), Community Development Programmes (CDP), the Small Farmer's Development Agencies (SFDA), Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Agencies (MFAL), Drought Prone Areas Programmes (DPAP), and Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM). Besides these programmes, JRY (Jawahar Rojgar Yojana) and NRY (Nehru Rojgar Yojna in urban areas) were started. (Details of these programmes have been discussed below under Five Year Plans and programmes for tribals.

### PLANS, PROGRAMMES OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION

The First Plan started in 1951 till 1956. Under this plan, the main emphasis was on health, housing and communication in tribal areas. The total expenditure in this plan was Rs. 1,960 crores, out of this Rs. 174.7 crores i.e., 0.83% was for the welfare of tribals. Many commissions were setup to report on tribals. The report of Backward Classes Commission 1955 headed by Kaka Kalelkar on backward classes came and recommended for the development of weaker sections of our society. In this plan Community Development Programme was started in 1952. Following the foot-prints of CD projects, 43 special Multi-Purpose Tribal Development Blocks were started in 1954 in India.

The Second Five Year Plan (1956-1961) was designed on Mahalanovis Model. The philosophy of this plan was to give a 'big push' to the economy in order to enable it to 'take off' in the context of economic development. The total expenditure in this plan was Rs. 672 crores, out of which Rs. 8.86 crores i.e., 0.87% was for tribal development. During this plan, various committees and commissions were set-up which recommended development of weaker sections of the society such as the reports of the study team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes 1959, Forty Eight report of the estimates committee of parliament 1959 and report on the committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks 1960. During this plan three big steel factories at Bokaro, Rourkela and Bhilai were set up in tribal region which created an additional problem of displacement and rehabilitation among tribal people.

The Third Plan (1961-66) was a plan for balanced development of all sectors of our economy. During this plan out of Rs. 8,577 crores Rs. 52.55 i.e., 0.61% was for tribal development. In the annual plan of 1966-69 out of Rs. 6,756 crores Rs. 34.64 i.e., 0.51% was for the tribals.

The Fourth Plan (1969-74) was based on the notion of 'self-reliance', 'growth with justice' and balanced regional development'. During this plan out of Rs. 15,902 crores, Rs. 75.00 crores, i.e., 0.47% was for the tribals. During this plan, a series of programmes were conceived which were addressed to specific target groups. The small Farmers Development Agencies (SFDA) and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Agencies (MFAL) were started. In this plan greater attention was focussed on the weaker section of the society. The Drought-Prone Area Programmes and Tribal Development Agencies (TDAs) were established on the pattern of SFDA for tribal population.

A critical appraisal for the Four Five Year Plans show continuous decrease in the percentage of expenditure for the development of tribal people. These were 0.83%, 0.87%, 0.61%, 0.51% and 0.47% respectively in the successive four five year plans.

The financial investment in successive Four Five Year Plan is illustrated below.

Growth of Supplemental Outlays for Tribal Development

Plan Period	Total Plan Size	State Sector	Central Sector	(Rs. in crore)	
				T.D. Blocks In Central Sector	Total
First Plan	1,960	17.33	—	—	17.37
Second Plan	4,672	22.52	17.97	(4.03)	40.51
Third Plan	8,577	29.95	51.05	(15.33)	51.05
Annual Plans (1966-69)	6,756	10.46	24.86	(20.04)	35.32
Fourth Plan	16,160	37.70	46.50	(32.98)	84.20

Sectorwise Supplemental Outlays for Tribal Development

Plan Period	Education	Economic Uplift	Health Housing etc	(Rs. in crore)	
				Total	
First Plan	5.10	8.46	3.81	17.37	
Second Plan	8.05	22.70	9.76	40.51	
Third Plan	13.23	30.72	7.10	51.05	
Annual Plans (1966-69)	9.32	24.07	1.93	35.32	
Fourth Plan	31.50	42.25	10.45	84.20	

Source : Tribal Administration and Development : Page 42, 43 by S.G. Deogaonkar



**The Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79)** In this plan the expenditure on tribal development was evaluated. For boosting tribal development, a separate plan, better known as Tribal Sub-Plan was started. While in earlier plans, programmes were almost same for SC/ST, now special programmes only for tribal development were started. Out of Rs. 54,411 crores Rs. 500 crores were for tribal development. It was a huge amount for big push of annihilation of socio-economic problems of tribals. (Detail description of Tribal Sub-Plan has been given separately).

**In the Sixth Five Year Plan (1979-84)** of Janata Party, it was realised that broad approach to tribal development will have to depend on the pattern of distribution of tribals in different areas at different socio-economic levels. Whereas in earlier plans the Tribal Development Blocks were in those areas where above 75% of tribal people lived, in this plan it was lowered to 50% tribal concentration in an area.

The long-term objective in this plan was to lower the gap between tribals and non-tribals and improving the socio-economic conditions of these tribal people. In this plan programmes like education, full employment and health and sanitation were started. Since tribals live in agroclimatic conditions so programmes based on agriculture, animal husbandry and cottage industries were given priority. Suitable and training-oriented personnels were sent in tribal areas. Programmes through horticulture, piggery, poultry were taken to tribals and specially, shifting cultivators. Credit facilities through LAMPS and other credit and Bank institutions were encouraged. Greater attention was paid to the promotion of indigenous tribal craftsmanship and related activities. After the defeat of Janata Party and Congress in power in the new Sixth Plan (1981-86) total size of the Tribal Sub-Plan was escalated to Rs. 5,000 crores. The outlay of programmes is given below :

**Sixth Plan Outlays on Socio-economic Programme for ST**

(Rs. in crore)

S.No.	Fund From	Sixth Plan Outlays	Sixth Plan Expenditure
1.	States allocation for tribal Sub-plan	3521	3409
2.	Special Central Assistance	485	485
3.	Institutional Finance	Not Available	800

In This plan there were 180 Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs). The coverage of tribal population was raised to 75 per cent and the number of Primitive Tribes were raised from 52 to 75.

This plan laid more emphasis on family-oriented programmes than in infrastructural development. Fifty per cent scheduled tribes numbering about 3.46 million families were made target to be brought above the poverty line. Poverty line is defined as that standard of living when a man gets food of 2400 calories per day in rural areas and 2100 calories food in urban areas. In this plan about 9000 tribal villages were electrified and 80,000 were provided supply of fresh drinking water.

**Seventh Plan (1985-90)** In this plan the programmes for tribal development continued with the Integrated Tribal Development Programmes without any major change in approach, pattern and its structure. Priority was given to social services. The public sector outlay in this plan was of Rs. 1,54,220 crores. It was thought that the first 30 lakh families in Tribal Sub-Plan were to be helped. In the Seventh Plan special central assistance for Tribal-Sub Plan was fixed at Rs. 756 crores. LAMPS (Large Agricultural Marketing Societies) were strengthened and broadened. Harmonious development was thought without changing the very modes, usages and cultural life of the tribals. The strategy was for socio-economic development of the tribal people and protection of these tribal folks from any kind of exploitation.

The ITDPs, started in Fifth Five Year Plan, were continued in this plan. The MADA (Modified Area Development Approach) was to cover such smaller areas having 10,000 population of which 50% and more were tribals. Areas of the clusters of tribal concentration with 5,000 or more population and 50% or more tribals were identified. This plan included all the tribals whether dispersed or primitive. This position was as below-

Sl. No.	Project	No. of Project	ST Population Coverage
1.	ITDPs	191	303.41 Lakhs
2.	MADAs	268	45.82 Lakhs
3.	Cluster Areas	74	3.43 Lakhs

In this plan 75 Primitive Tribal Groups were identified in 15 states/union territories which covered 16.36 lakh Scheduled Tribes population. The basis for such classification was as below-

- Low rate of growth of population,
- Pre agricultural level of technology and subsistence and
- Low level of literacy.

The main Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) are Bodo, Chenchu, Khond of Andhra Pradesh; Asur, Birhor Pahariya of Bihar, Koraga of Karnataka and Kerala; Balgas, Bharias, Kamars, Saharias of M.P.; Lodhas, Paudi Soura of Orissa. Kota, Kurumba, Todas, Irulas of Tamil Nadu; Buxas, Rajis of U.P. Lodhas, Totos.



Birhor of Bengal; Great Andamanese, Jarwas, Onges, Sentenelese and Shompens of Andman Nicobar Islands.

The Total Expenditure from Fifth to Seventh plan for tribals is given below -

**Expenditure in Different Plan Periods for Development of Scheduled Tribes.**

	Funds from		Total
	State Plan	Special Central Assistance	
Fifth Plan	759.44	186.79	9,46.20
1979-80 (Actual)	382.45	59.45	441.90
Sixth Plan	3387.89	486.11	3874.00
Seventh Plan (1980-85) (Provisional)	7100.57	851.25	7951.82

Source : A note on Review of Programmes during the Seventh plan, Planning commission, New Delhi, P.2)

During Eight Plan (1992-97) an outlay of Rs. 2,548 crores in the central sector, including Rs. 1,125 crores as special central assistance for Special Component Plan for SC and Rs. 3,086.06 crores for state plan under Backward Classes sector have been provided. Various plans operating in the seventh plan continued. For the development of education of Scheduled Tribes, the programmes for pre-matric and post-matric education were continued. Residential schools, including Ashram School were expanded.

For the economic development of Scheduled Tribes, the Co-operative Institutions like LAMPS were reviewed with a view to meeting the genuine needs of tribal people. The Forest-Policy was framed in such a way that it would maintain the symbiotic relationship between forests and tribals. For the benefit of shifting cultivators, a centrally sponsored scheme with an outlay of Rs. 75 crores was operating. The schemes on water-shed basis, in which sectoral programmes like agriculture, forestry, horticulture, infrastructural and social services facilities were interwoven in an integrated and viable manner to enable the shifting cultivators to take settled cultivation.

In this plan people's participation was thought essential, but the result was not desirable. Tribal Research Institutes were founded hugely for research in tribal areas. The voluntary organisations were more assisted for promotion of welfare of the tribals, the rehabilitation, health and sanitation, like elimination of scavenging, were given due emphasis.

Ninth Plan (1997-2002) The main objective of Ninth Five Year Plan is "Growth with Equity and Distributive Justice". In this plan the Eighth Five Year Plan was evaluated and it has been found that from first to Eighth Plan more emphasis was given on development at the macro level of our economy. Now for the first time

micro-level and people's participation oriented approach has been framed. The Panchayati Raj system in urban and rural areas have been given more power. The decentralized democratic institutions have been given more emphasis. The state policy will be framed to enhance quality of life, employment generation, regional balance and self-reliance.

The Main Objectives of the Ninth Plan are —

- (i) Priority to agriculture and rural development;
- (ii) Accelerating the growth of economy;
- (iii) Ensuring food and nutritional security to all and specially for weaker section like SC/ST/OBCs;
- (iv) Providing basic minimum services of safe drinking water, primary health care facilities, universal primary education and shelter to all and specially for weaker section of our society.
- (v) Containing the growth rate of population;
- (vi) Ensuring environmental sustainability of development process and strengthening symbiotic relationship between tribals and forests, and wild life.
- (vii) Employment of women and socially disadvantaged groups like Scheduled Castes/Tribes and other Backward Classes;
- (ix) Promotion and development of people's participation in institutions like Panchyati Raj, Co-operative and Voluntary Organisations;
- (x) Strengthening efforts to build self-reliance.

### TRIBAL SUB-PLAN

In the first Four Plans tribal developmental programmes produced no desired results. So in the Fifth Five Year Plan in 1971 the Planning Commission set-up a Task Force on "Development of Tribal Areas" which reviewed the tribal situation comprehensively. It recommended a perspective for the development of tribal areas in the country. This Task Force opined that the main drawbacks and shortcomings of earlier plans were that the tribal areas were looked upon as 'welfare problems' instead of development problem. In earlier Plans, there was no separate outlay for tribal development and the outlay was for weaker section of the society. The Task Force recommended that for attaining balanced socio-economic development of tribals, the need is for integrated development. In the Fifth Plan under Tribal Sub-Plan, the main emphasis was laid on area development with improving the quality of life of tribals. Since almost all the problems of the tribals originated from exploitation in any form, recommendations were made for the protection of tribals from exploitation. Integrated credit-cum-marketing service, marketing of agriculture and minor forest-produce were operated. Recommendations were also made for special



attention to the problems of land-alienation, bonded labour and problems owing to modernization and westernization.

For the development of tribals, the Sub-Plan suggested for giving high priority to agriculture and agro-based industries.

The problem of tribal development is basically the development of (i) Areas of tribal concentration; (ii) Dispersed tribals, and (iii) Primitive Tribal Communities.

While preparing Tribal Sub-Plan, area of tribal concentration, socio-cultural barriers, assessment of potentialities, special problems and felt needs of the tribal areas, assessment of the resources available for Sub-Plan, formulation of special programmes and devising suitable administrative setup are taken into consideration.

**Areas of Tribals Sub-Plan** - In 17 states and two union territories the Tribal Sub-Plan approach has been applied. The main parts of this plan are Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDPs), MADA (Modified Area Development Approach) and Pockets and Primitive Tribal Group Projects. For success of Tribal Sub-Plan, 121 ITDPs have been carved out comprising Blocks/Tehsils or even the whole district with 50% or more tribal concentration. Besides, 285 MADA pockets have been carved out in 9 states with 50 lacs tribal populations. This project is running with 10,000 population in which ST population is 50% or more. In these tribal belts family development is being carried out with Family-Oriented Income Generating Programmes. By the end of Sixth Plan about 75% tribals were benefitted. In the Seventh Plan the remaining 25% dispersed tribals had also come under the jurisdiction of Tribal Sub-Plan.

In Sixth Plan about 39 lacs of families were economically helped which was more than target of 28 lacs of families. In Seventh Plan the target was 41.56 lacs of families but the achievement was more than the target. In the Seventh Plan the condition of 74 Primitive Tribes, comprising 13 lacs of tribal population in 14 States and Union Territories, were taken into consideration. For these Primitive Tribes special "Micro Projects" are being implemented.

#### Financial Resources and Outlays

The Tribal Sub-Plan is being financed through

- (i) Flow of funds from state plan outlays;
- (ii) Sectoral outlays in the Central Ministries for tribal areas;
- (iii) Special Central Assistance allocation for tribal areas;
- (iv) Institutional finance mainly from banks;

The State funding is the main source of Tribal Sub-Plan and other outlays are only supplementary. The quantum of outlays is arrived at by keeping in view the total population, geographical area, comparative level of development and the state of social services.

The state outlays of Sub-Plan has two parts viz, divisible and non-divisible. The investment whose benefit confines a specific region is called divisible outlays and whose benefit does not confine to any specific region is known as non-divisible outlays. For disbursing funds attention should be given to level of socio-economic condition of the tribals and comparative condition of geographical regions.

Total financial outlays for Tribal Sub-Plan and Tribal areas in First-Plan was Rs 1960 crores i.e. 1 per cent in Fifth Plan it was Rs, 39,322 crores i.e. 3.01% and in Seventh Plan it was Rs 1,80,000 crores i.e. 6.25% of the total national outlays. This huge outlays remained notional because it could not benefit tribal communities as it was on major and medium irrigation, power and industrial projects which benefitted mainly non-tribals. Even the divisible outlays have been made on sectoral basis and not for individual ITDPs.

**Centrally Sponsored Schemes** - There is division of responsibilities between central and state governments on centrally sponsored schemes. The Scheduled Castes are common in the Ministry of Welfare, like post-matric scholarship; coaching pre-examination training and education facilities. Only outlays for girls hostel, research and training and aid to voluntary organisations are separate.

**Critical Appraisal of Tribal Sub-Plan** - The Tribal Sub-Plan is in implementation since Fifth Plan but it has not brought about any perceptible change in tribals way of life. This is owing to the fact that it has remained mere conglomeration of sectoral schemes under state plan. The general schemes, which are being implemented in tribal areas, have not catered to the needs of tribals. There is no area specific programme and not wide research available on infrastructural development like education, health, drinking water, communication and agriculture. The senior officers of ITDPs hardly have any role as agent of development and as a co-ordinator. The anthropological researches are also not being seriously carried out and there is also no uniformity in administrative pattern.

In some states the ITDPs are subordinate organisation of District Rural Development Agency (DRDA). In order to make rapid development of tribal areas and improving the quality of life following suggestions are important -

- (i) In every state besides Tribal Sub-Plan, there should be Tribal Area Plan.
- (ii) Separate allocation of fund from general outlays should be made on specific area population and geographical backwardness. Area specific and people specific plan should be implemented.
- (iii) There should be single line administration for implementing schemes and programmes.
- (iv) There should be annual central plan for tribals, the schemes should be carefully identified and implemented in accordance with the geographical situation and needs of local tribal people. Anthropological Departments in



each ministry should be created which can identify the problems by research and can suggest the solutions of the problems in a better way. Besides Anthropologists, tribal people should also be involved in policy making and implementation of programmes.

**Special Component Plan for Scheduled Caste** - The evaluation of the programmes directed to the development of welfare of Scheduled Castes during the First to Fifth plan was found to be least satisfactory. So a Special Component Plan was prepared for the welfare of Scheduled Castes. This plan is being implemented from Sixth Plan onwards.

Special Component is given the name to this plan because an authentic part of general sector's fund is ascertained for programmes of Scheduled Castes. The main aim of this plan is to give a part of general economic development to Scheduled Castes. For this purpose this plan is being implemented in 20 states and four Union Territories since 1979.

**Source of Fund** - The source of fund is the same as for Tribal Sub-Plan. These sources are :

- (i) Fund from State Planning;
- (ii) Central Sector and Central Sponsored Schemes;
- (iii) Special Central Assistance;
- (iv) Institutional Finance.

Allocated fund in the Sixth Plan was Rs. 3,615 crores. It was 8 per cent of the total national outlays. In the Seventh Plan this outlays increased to Rs. 6,206 crores. In the Eighth Plan an outlay of Rs. 2,548 crores in the central sector, including Rs. 1,125 crores as part of state were allocated under Special Central Assistance for Special Component Plan.

**Strategy of Component Plan** - Under this plan in 1985-90 at least 150 lacs of families under poverty line were thought to be benefitted. Many programmes under poverty eradication programmes have been implemented like IRDP, NREP, RLEGP, Jawahar Rojgar Yojana and Nehru Rojgar Yojna. Despite these programmes and schemes and Civil Right Protection Acts. They are still deprived of access to their welfare schemes. They are still facing problems of land disputes, indebtedness, bonded labour, low wages, human trafficking, illiteracy, poverty and many other such problems.

## PROGRAMMES FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

(i) **Community Development Blocks** - This programme was started in the First Five Year Plan. This was expected to create a new thrust for development in the rural areas and engender a process of self-sustained growth. In this programme harmonious development of all aspects of life was thought of. But this was a comprehensive programme covering a wide spectrum of activities in agriculture, animal husbandry, education, health, communication and social services. Since

the socio-economic and geographical conditions are not similar, so a separate plan was to be prepared taking into consideration the resource potential and problems faced by the people. This programme was also not very successful because it included general population with Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This was also not applicable to tribals living in hilly areas with meagre communication and little institutional infrastructure.

(ii) **Tribal Development Blocks - Community Development Programmes** was replaced by 43 Special Multi Purpose Tribal Blocks in 1954. It was considerably smaller in terms of area coverage and population than Community Development Programme. In the Third Plan, all the areas with more than 2/3rd tribal population were covered by T.D.Bs. There were about 500 Tribal Development Blocks covering about 40% of tribal population in the country. The tribal population below 75% concentration in a region were assisted under Community Development Programme. This programme also could not achieve the desired results. Therefore in the Fourth Five Year Plan a series of programmes were started. The Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA); Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Agency (MFAL). In these programmes, the attention was shifted from area development to identified individuals who qualified for special attention.

In Fourth Plan, Tribal Development Agencies (TDAs) were started to cater to the problems of tribal population. The level of investment was much higher than in Tribal Development Blocks. There were six TDAs in Fourth Plan and eight TDAs in Fifth Plan for tackling problems of tribals. It was thought that TDAs will cover economic development with social services. However, it became an agricultural development programme and invested huge amount on construction and maintenance of roads. This plan was also not very successful.

**Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP)** - This project started in the Fifth Plan comprising a group of blocks. The actual size varied from state to state depending on the demographic structure of the tribal communities in that region. The total number of ITDPs established in starting of 1978 was 180. This project with more than one block was termed as 'Meso Project' and less than one block as 'Micro Project'. Out of 180 ITDPs, 121 are Meso units and rest are Micro units. For delineation of ITDPs the topography, local resources, demographic structure, social situation and level of development should be taken into consideration. Since this project has been accepted as the unit of planning, so administrative boundaries should not be changed unless considered essential. The average population size of the Meso project is 2.73 lacs and average geographical area is 3,256 sq. km. The largest Meso project in terms of population is Panch Mahal in Gujrat with 10.24 lacs (6.04 lacs of ST) population and the largest in terms of area is Spiti (Himachal Pradesh) spread over 13,923 sq. kms. Population 27,568 with 21,568 tribals.



The micro projects are of two kinds viz., the micro projects without clear-cut geographical area and the projects that cover the geographical area. In those states which have no substantial tribal concentration come under hamlet-oriented programme. The average population in area specific micro projects is 43,000 (25,000 ST) and geographical area is 836 sq. km. This project is being continued.

Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) - This approach was adopted in the Sixth Plan. Under this approach those areas which have at least 5,000 tribal population came in the structure of tribal Sub-Plan. At the end of Sixth Plan 75% tribal population were benefitted under 245 MADA Projects. MADA did not concern with the dispersed tribal population. In the Seventh Plan 268 MADAs worked for tribal development concerning education, health and sanitation and for annihilating indebtedness and other forms of exploitation.

Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) - This programme was started in 1978-79 aiming to help financially to those poor families who were living under poverty line. This programme, besides tribals, includes small and marginal farmers, rural craftsmen and Scheduled Castes. It aimed at increasing income, employment and investing money in cottage and village industries. Firstly, this programme was implemented in 2300 blocks of the country but in 1980 it was implemented in all the blocks of the country. In the Sixth Plan Rs. 4,500 crores was aimed for expenditure. In this plan target was helping 150 lacs of families but 165.6 lacs of families were benefitted which was more than the target. In 1984-85, 16.8 lacs of SC and ST were benefitted and Rs. 1,650.25 crores was spent. In the Ninth Plan instead of families a cluster of families have been targeted for benefit. On the block level it is implemented by District Rural Development Agency (DRDA). In its implementation there are many organisational and administrative drawbacks which are being reduced.

National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) - This programme started in 1980 in the form of central government planning. Its expenditure between centre and state is based on ratio of 50:50. Its main objective is to generate employment to weaker section of the society. This programme aims at creating productive employment opportunities, creation of permanent community assets and improving nutritional status of rural poor families. This programme is also framed and implemented by DRDA. Ten per cent fund of this programme is for Scheduled Tribes. The minimum wages are given partially in cash and partially in the form of grain. In the Sixth Plan Rs. 1,819 crores was spent.

National Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (NRLEGP) - This programme was started in 1983-84. It aimed at generating employment at least one person to the landless rural families and strengthening rural infrastructure for rapid development of the economy. In Sixth Plan it aimed at expending Rs. 600 crores. The tribals have been benefitted under this

programme. But now the above two programme (NREP and NRLEGP) have been included in Jawahar Rojgar Yojana started in 1989.

Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM) - This programme was started in 1979 for providing training and skill to rural youth between age of 18-35. Under this programme those families are selected whose annual income is upto Rs. 3,500. Every year in a block 40 youth are helped and trained. During training period they are given financial assistance.  $33\frac{1}{3}\%$  gratuity is given for self employment. In the Sixth Plan 9.30 lacs youths were trained out of which 2.96 lacs belonged to SC and ST. This programme is directed to those areas where substantial semi-unemployment or disguised unemployment exist. This programme is proving quite satisfactory.

Large Scale Agricultural Multi-Purpose Societies (LAMPS) - These societies were set up in Sixth Plan for providing financial help to the tribals to eliminate the middlemen and money lenders. These societies give economic benefit directly to tribal population. Promotion of tribal crafts and family based programmes for helping these groups are formulated and then implemented. The special central assistance in Seventh Plan was Rs. 756 crores. These societies help tribals in selling their forest produce, crafts and agricultural things. Due to these societies in tribal areas the traders and money lenders are unable to exploit them to a great extent.

#### ROLE OF NGOS

Because of a number of limitations of the Government officials and lack of suitable infrastructure, as also because of ever growing problems in the rural and tribal areas, the NGOs, today, occupy important position and are playing key role in the developmental programmes, particularly in the Third World. World over NGOs are found engaged in welfare activities in rural and remote tribal areas. Their main activities are in the areas of literacy and education, water management, co-operative farming and marketing, health and sanitation, housing, rehabilitation and resettlement, development of communication, making people aware of their rights, duties and privileges and improving people's participation in welfare programmes. In the recent years the U.N.O. (United Nations Organisation) and the World Bank have also called for the maximum involvement of NGOs in developmental programmes.

Some of the reasons for attracting so much importance to the involvement of NGOs in the developmental programmes are as follows —

- (i) That, our government machinery has completely failed to deliver the goods. The evaluation report of any welfare programmes launched by the government, ultimately, suggests that "the desired results could not be achieved".



- (ii) That, our experience suggests that government officials fail to 'empathesize' with the local population. As a result, they also fail to understand the 'felt needs' of the people. Most of the personnels, working in the rural and tribal areas come from outside. They do not understand the 'world view' and the 'ethos' of the local people and culture. Obviously, they develop a passive attitude towards the local problems and sentiments of the people.
- (iii) That, the bureaucratic red-tapism and paraphernalia of the government officials in the implementation of any welfare programme are so-complicated that an illiterate rural or tribal person easily gets exhausted and retard in pursuing any work.
- (iv) That, in most of the Third World countries, including India, corruption in the different government departments are so rampant that a simple rural or tribal person does not get his work done unless a considerable per centage of the welfare fund is not given as 'bribe' to the officials. In the state of Bihar one has to see it to believe the magnitude of corruption at the Block and Panchayat level from where all the developmental projects are launched in the country.
- (v) That government officials also lack the zeal and dedication that the personnels of an NGO are supposed to possess. It is no denying a fact that selfless dedication is very important for the personnels implementing the welfare programmes.
- (vi) Besides the aforesaid reasons, the involvement of NGOs is sought at the national and international level with a view to generate as much of employment as possible to the youths apparently because every Third World country can not accommodate every one in the government jobs.

Ever since independence, a number of NGOs are found working in different parts of the country for the upliftment of tribal and rural people of India. Some of the NGOs operating in India, especially engaged in the welfare programmes for the SC/ST are as follows.

The first such organisation soon after independence was founded by Late Dr. Rajendra Prasad in 1948, the then President of the Republic of India. The name of this organisation was *Bhartiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh* (BASS). Initially, 18 organisations were associated with it. By 1950 its number rose to fifty, and at present over hundreds associations are attached to this parent organisation. BASS has involved itself in welfare activities relating to every walk of tribal life. It also publishes news letters, pamphlets, journals dealing with tribal problems and from time to time organises seminars at the national and international level.

*Bhartiya Depressed Classes League*, New Delhi is another NGO engaged in the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is mainly concerned itself

with the problems of untouchability, health and sanitation, education and emancipation of SC/ST from exploitation and deprivation.

*Indian Red Cross Society*, New Delhi, which is associated with International Redcross Society, is another organisation which has done considerable welfare activities for the welfare of weaker sections of the society.

*Missionaries of Charity*, founded by the Nobel purative Mother Teresa is a classic example of an NGO working for the poor, the lepers and the destitutes at the national and international level.

*Ram Krishna Mission* of Narendrapur, West Bengal, founded by veteran social worker, reformer and great Indian Monk Swami Vivekanand in 1896, has been doing commendable work in the field of education, agriculture, health and sanitation in remote tribal and rural areas. *Ram Krishna Mission* has also been generating positive awareness and tolerance among the Indian masses with regard to religion.

*The Arya Samaj*, founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in 1875, has also been working for the amelioration of the poor plight of the downtrodden section of our society.

*Servants of India Society*, founded by Gopal Krishana Gokhale in 1905 in Pune, Maharashtra, has done considerable welfare activities among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections of our society.

*All India Harijan Sevak Sangh* founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1932, worked for the spread of education among the untouchables and enabled them to use public wells and tanks in order to remove their social disabilities.

*All Indian Depressed Classes Federation*, founded by B.R. Ambedkar, launched several movements of the protection of Scheduled Castes. In South India the *Self Respect Movement* and *Sri Narayan Guru Yogam* organisations are together fighting for the cause of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

*Thakkar Bapa Ashram*, Nimkhendi, Orissa is also fighting against the exploitation of tribals and working utmost for the socio-economic welfare for the tribals. It is to be noted that Late A.V. Thakkar, popularly known as *Thakkar Bappa*, worked a lot for the welfare of tribals and of weaker section during the British Raj. In Andhara Pradesh, *Andhra Rashtra Adimjati Sevak Sangh*, Nellore, and in Rajasthan *Social Work and Research Centre* at Tilonia are working hard for the tribals in their respective states.

In Maharashtra an NGO *Sarya Shodhak Samaj*, founded by Jyotiba Phule in 1873 is still working for the tribal development. Besides the above mentioned organisations *Hindu Sweepers Sevak Sangh*, New Delhi; *Bhartiya Samaj Unnat Mandal*, Bhiwandi (Maharashtra), and *Ishwar Sharan Ashram*, Allahabad are



some of the other important NGOs involved in the welfare activities of the weaker sections of Indian society.

A considerable amount of money is every year provided by the Government of India as grants-in-aid to the non-government organisations and other voluntary organisation. For example, in 1993-94 about 208 such NGOs and voluntary organisations were given grants-in-aid of Rs. 7.50 Crores. During 1994-95 it was Rs. 11.60 crores given to 313 such organisations. In 1995-96 the amount was raised to Rs. 20.33 crores for this purpose. The World Bank is also giving due impetus to the involvement of NGOs, particularly in rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced persons in all the projects financed by the World Bank.

Thus, a critical evaluation of the performances of the NGOs in India shows that they have done considerable humanitarian work in the rural and tribal areas.

Nevertheless, it is an unpleasant sign that today, in India, the NGOs are sprouting like mushrooms. The sole purpose behind opening NGOs extract as much of money as possible from the government and other funding of agencies.

In India CAPART (Council for Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology) of Government of India, New Delhi, has been the chief organisation for funding NGOs and voluntary organisations for developmental works relating to housing, drinking water, voluntary health and sanitation.

Several evaluation reports of the CAPART suggest that most of the NGOs are today opened by 'professionals' with the sole purpose of minting money, as a number of financial concessions are given to the NGOs. It is high time that such negative trend of professionalism behind the opening of NGOs be discouraged, so that the funds allocated for rural and tribal developments are properly utilised and reach the grassroot.

## Chapter 13

### CONSTITUTIONAL PRIVILEGES & SAFEGUARDS FOR SC AND ST

Provisions for the constitutional privileges and safeguards to the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes can be traced back from the very first session of the Constituent Assembly in which, in Dec. 1946 Jawahar Lal Nehru had moved the principal resolution on the declaration of objectives which, alongwith other matters, had outlined "where in adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas and depressed and other backward classes."

This resolution was further adopted in the second session of the Constituent Assembly that was held in Jan. 1947. Later, it found adequate expressions in Article 46 under the Directive Principles of State policies in Part IV of the constitution which reads as follows :

"The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitations." As a result, all the constitutional safeguards have been apparently provided to facilitate the implementation of the Directive Principles contained in different Articles of the Indian Constitution.

The Constitution of India contains many provisions for the protection and welfare of the tribal population. All the constitutional privileges and safeguards can be secondly divided into two categories viz., (1) The protective safeguards (2) The developmental safeguards.

The protective constitutional safeguards are contained in Article 15 (4), 16 (4), 19 (5), 23, 29, 46, 164, 330, 332, 334, 335, 338, 339 (1), 371 (A), 371 (B), 371 (C), Fifth Schedule and Sixth Schedule. It is to be noted that Articles 15 (4), 16 (4) and 19 (5) are concerned with the Fundamental Rights of equality and freedom guaranteed under Part III of the Constitution.

The developmental safeguards for Scheduled Tribes are contained mainly in Articles 275 (1), First Proviso and 339 (2).

**Article 15 :** This Article of the Indian Constitution is concerned with prohibition of the discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. However, clause 4 of this Article empowers the State to make any special



provision for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes of citizen or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This provision is in accordance of policy envisaged in Article 46 that the State should promote with special care educational and economic interests of the weaker section of the people and protect them from social injustice. The clause 4 of Article 15 runs as follows :

"Nothing in this Article or in Clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

The object of the clause, added in 1951 through an amendment of the Constitution, is to bring Article 15 and 29 in line with Article 16 (4), 46 and 340; so as to make it constitutional for the State to reserve seats for citizens belonging to Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the public educational institution as well as to make other special provisions as may be necessary for their advancement e.g. provision of residential accommodation.

**Article 16 :** This Article is concerned with the equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. Clause 4 of this Article suggests, "Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments of posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the states, is not adequately represented in the services under the state."

**Article 19 :** This Article deals with, in general, the protection of certain rights regarding freedom of speech, movement throughout the territory of India, right to reside and settled in any part of the territory of India and to acquire, hold and dispose of property etc. However, clause 5 of this Article special provision for the protection of tribal land property and territory.

**Article 23 :** It prohibits traffic in human beings, *begar* and other similar forms of forced labour. This is very significant provision so far as Scheduled Tribes are concerned as many of them are employed as *bonded labour* in many parts of the country.

**Article 29 :** According to Article 29, a cultural or linguistic minority has right to conserve its language of culture. The Article provides protection to Scheduled Tribe Communities to preserve their languages, dialects and cultures. The State would not by law enforce upon them any other culture or language.

Clause 2 of Article 29 is controlled by clause A of Article 15, incorporated in the Constitution by the First Amendment Act, 1951. This has brought Article 15 and 29 in line with Article 16 (4), 46 and 340, thereby making constitutional

necessity for the state to reserve seats for the backward classes of citizens in public educational institutions.

**Article 46 :** Article 46 deals with promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections.

**Article 164 :** According to this Article "The Chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor and the other ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister ...." Accordingly this Article provides for a minister in-charge of tribal welfare in the States of Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. It is also to be noted that although constitutionally it is not mandatory but the Government of West Bengal has also appointed a minister for tribal welfare. Thus it is an evidence of the concern of the framers of the constitution for safeguarding the interest of Scheduled Tribes, particularly in the State where substantial tribal populations is found.

**Article 330, 332, and 334 :** These Articles are concerned with the reservation of seats in the House of People for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Where as Article 330 is concerned with reservation in the Parliament, Article 332 is concerned with reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assemblies of the states. Article 334 is concerned with the duration of reservation of seats in Parliament or Assemblies. It is to be noted that originally the reservation of seats in different House of Peoples was for 10 years from commencement of the Constitution, but by an amendment of Article 334, it was extended by 30 years i.e. up to the end of 1990. It has again been extended till the end of this century as per the Constitutional provision.

**Article 335 :** It clarifies the claims of the member of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointment to services and posts in connection with affairs of the Union or of a State.

**Article 338 :** According to the three clauses of this Article there shall be a Special Officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be appointed by the President. It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution.

He shall report to the President upon the working of those safeguards at such intervals as the President may direct. The President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament. Such an officer has been designated as Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

**Article 399 :** As per a provision in this Article "The President may, at any time and shall, at the expiration of 10 years from the commencement of the constitution, by order, appoint a commission to report on the administration of



Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States, (Article 339) (i) Only one such Commission, namely, Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, was appointed on 28th April, 1960 and it submitted its Report in October 1961."

Thus under this Article the Union is empowered to give direction to any state with regard to drawing up and execution of schemes specified in the direction and essential for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes in the State.

In spite of the above Articles there are provisions in the Fifth and Sixth Schedules. The Fifth Schedule makes provisions for the establishment of Tribal Advisory Councils. The Sixth Schedule makes provisions to the administration of Tribal Areas of Assam by setting up Autonomous District and Autonomous Regions and constituting District Councils and Regional Councils.

Thus, the constitutional safeguards make provisions for the Scheduled Tribes for representation in Parliament and State Assemblies, appointment of Ministers-in-Charge of tribal welfare, particularly in Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal, appointment of Minister specially incharge of the welfare of Autonomous Districts and Autonomous Regions in Assam where tribal population is predominant, representation in Central and State Government Services, abolition of the practice of untouchability, opening of Hindu temples and religious institutions, admission of tribals in educational institutions, banning of traffic in human beings, as also the appointment of Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to safeguards provided for the Scheduled Tribes and the development an administration of Scheduled and Tribal Areas.

With a view to protect the tribal traditions and rights some additional provisions have also been made in the Indian Constitution such as the exemption of Scheduled Tribes from the Hindu Succession Act, 1956; Hindu Adoption Act, 1956; and Hindu Marriage Act, 1956. By exempting the tribal people from the above Acts the Customary Marriage and Succession Rules of the tribals have been preserved. Almost all the states which have tribal population have also introduced a number of Acts of prevent the outsiders from usurping the tribal land.

In spite of all in Constitutional privileges and safeguards the Annual Report of the Ministry of Welfare suggest, that the result has been far from satisfaction. The Tribal population of the country is still largely illiterate, a large section of them still live either below the poverty line or merely at the subsistence level, many of them are highly indebted as also land alienation still continue in the tribal areas. In the recent years it has been observed that an 'elite section' of the major tribal groups have been usurping all the constitutional advantages provided by the Government. As a result, a 'feudal class' among the tribals has emerged in all the predominant tribal areas. There is no doubt that it has been

possible due to the connivance between the aleft tribal leaders and the corrupt Government officials. Therefore unless the government machinery and the infrastructure in adequately improved, the fruits of the constitutional privileges and safeguards provided to the tribes would not reach at the grass root.

### IMPACT OF MODERN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS ON THE TRIBALS ✓ ✓

Before the advent of the British rule in India, the political life of the tribals was governed by their indigenous Tribal Councils. Majority of the tribes in India had Tribal Councils which looked after the political affairs of their own members. The majority of the cases that such Tribal Councils dealt with were concerned with land-disputes, adultery and violations of incest taboos. Though, the structure and fuction of such tribal councils have undergone abrupt change, nonetheless, many of the tribes have still kept their political institutions alive. Mention can be made of the Paraha Panchayat of the Oraons, Killi Panchayat of the Mundas, Khat Panchayat of the Khasas of Jaunsar-Bawar area of Dehar Dun district of Uttar Pradesh, Pir Panchayat of the Hos of Singhbhum (Bihar) and the Paragana of the Santhals. A notable feature of such Tribal Councils was that it failed to settle any inter-tribal or tribe-caste conflict. They essentially settled the intra-tribal disputes.

The Britishers introduced the Executive, Legislative and Judicial institutions in India. The impact of above institutions in tribal life was that (i) inter-tribal or inter-caste conflicts were brought to the notice of the Police and the Court and, (ii) when the Tribal Council failed to settle an intra-tribal conflict, the Police and the Court intervened. In spite of the above changes the identity of Tribal Councils remained preserved and intact during the British Rule in India.

**Panchayati Raj in Indian Constitution** - At the behest of Mahatma Gandhi, the article for the introduction of Panchayati Raj in the Indian Constitution was included. Dr. Mahi Pal, in his article on Panchayati Raj in India published in Kurukshetra August 1997, has given suitable historical references and suggested that neither Pt. Nehru nor Dr. B.R. Ambedkar were in favour of Panchayati Raj in India. According to him, "Panchayats were made a part of the constitution simply to please Mahatma Gandhi."

Nevertheless, on 22 November, 1948 K. Santhanam moved the following motion: "That after article 31, the following new Article be added. The state shall take steps to organise Village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government." This motion was unanimously adopted.

**Panchayati Raj in Free India** - The involvement of the people in their development through grassroot democratic institutions like Panchayati Raj was contemplated in the First Five Year Plan (1951-56). Rajasthan was the first state



which inaugurated Panchayati Raj on 2 October, 1959 at Nagore. Nine days later Andhra Pradesh introduced this system, and by mid 1960, Panchayats had been constituted across the country.

During the First Five Year Plan, instead of paying attention to the establishment of Panchayats in the rural areas, Community Development Projects and National Extension Service Programmes were launched which failed to bring about people's participation. This drew the attention of the planners of the Second Plan (1956-61) in which emphasis was given for the establishment of democratic institutions within the district where the entire community, including the weaker section might get involved in developmental activities. For this purpose Balwant Ray Mehta Committee was appointed to study the report.

Similar Committees were set-up at state level to assess the progress made by Panchayats and to suggest measures for improvement. Mention can be made of Purusottam Pai Committee (1964), Ram Chandra Reddy Committee (1965), Narsimhan Committee in Andhra Pradesh, Bassappa Committee (1963) in Karnataka, Naik Committee (1961), Bongiwan Committee in Maharashtra, Mathur Committee (1963), Sazid Ali Committee (1963), G.L. Vyas Committee in Rajasthan and Govind Sahay Committee (1959) and Murti Committee in U.P.

Later Asoka Mehta Committee (1978), while reviewing and evaluating the Panchayati Raj observed, "Politically speaking, it became a process of democratic seed-drilling in the Indian Soil, making an average citizen more conscious of his rights than before. Administratively speaking, it bridged the gulf between the bureaucratic elite and the people. Socio-Culturally speaking, it generated a new leadership which was not merely relatively young in age but also modernistic and prosocial change in outlook. Finally, looked at from the developmental angle, it helped rural people cultivate a developmental psyche." (Quoted from Report of the Committee on Panchayati Raj Institution, Govt. of India, Department of Rural Development 1978 Page 8)

During the Janata Party Government in 1977 the Panchayati Raj received momentum. Asoka Mehta Committee, inter alia suggested constitutionalising of Panchayats, a two tier system of Panchats at Districts and Mandal levels, representation of SCs and STs in the election on the basis of their population etc.

From 1985 onwards the process of making Panchayats Vibrant and pulsating institutions of self government was initiated. Between December 1987 and June 1988 five workshops of District magistrates were organised at different places in the country in which the Prime Minister himself participated. These workshops, inter alia, recommended that a democratic frame work at the local level was indispensable for responsive administration. At the end of 1988 the Panchayati Raj System in India was recommended for constitutional status.

Against this background on 15 May, 1989 Rajiv Gandhi Government introduced the constitution (64th) Amendment Bill in Lok Sabha which was defeated in the Rajya Sabha. Finally during Narsimha Rao's Government on 24 April, 1993 the Act. was brought into force as the Constitution (73rd) Amendment Act. 1992.

Some of the salient features of the above (73rd) Act. are as follows :

- (i) Formation of Gram Sabhas,
- (ii) Uniform three-tier system at village, block and district levels with exemption for intermediate level in states with population less than two millions,
- (iii) Direct election to all seats for all members at all levels,
- (iv) Twenty-one years as the minimum age for membership as well as for chair person,
- (v) Reservation on rational basis for SCs and STs in proportion to their population both for membership as well as chairperson of the Panchayats,
- (vi) Reservation of not less than one-third of the seats for women and
- (vii) Five year term.

Thus, the Panchayati Raj System has been thoroughly established in India with constitutional approval, but in this regard Dantwala Committee Report (1978) appears to be quite discouraging. According to its Report "Panchayati Raj Institutions act, as a gatekeeper and prevents the flow of benefits to the weaker sections of the rural community". Whenever and wherever a member of the weaker section became the President of the Panchayat, the actual power, rested somewhere else. As commented by Rapbir Singh (1978). "Panchayati Raj continues to be dominated by the land-owning agricultural castes who get into the concept of dominant castes. The Scheduled Castes failed to acquire a foothold in the power structure. Even in those Panchayats where Harijans have been able to capture the position of Sarpanch, the real authority is vested in the elite from the dominant castes".

### IMPACT OF PANCHAYATI RAJ ON INDIAN TRIBALS

The seeds of the democratic Institutions which were shown during the British Rule in Indian soil, germinated and took deep roots during three decades of our independence. Democratization among Indian Population took place largely because of Adult Franchise and establishment of Panchayati Raj.

The practice of Adult-Franchise enabled the weaker section (including the tribals) to realise their numerical vis-a-vis political importance and strength. The Panchayati Raj system assured them of their political security. These two factors along with literacy and education brought un-precedented awakening among the tribals and other weaker sections. Gradually they started realising that the criterion of dominant caste could be changed over-night, if they united and voted



to power to their own representatives. Obviously, the numerical strength of the tribals, Harijans, Dalit and other Backward Classes was much more than the combined population of the forward castes.

The result of such abrupt social change had both positive and negative consequences. In its positive aspect, constitutionally any of the weaker section (Dalits or tribals) were no more subdued to the higher castes. They could stand at par any of the higher castes. Therefore, their rampant exploitation was checked to a great extent. Literacy among them improved considerably. Socio-economic level also improved to certain extent. Atleast, they no more suffered from the psyche of being downtrodden.

However, all this had their negative effects too. Which are as follows :

(i) The inter-caste and tribe-caste conflicts reached its zenith. In the tribal areas of Chhotanagpur in Bihar the non-tribals lived amicably for centuries with the tribals maintaining perfect socio-economic equilibrium. This received a serious jolt and at once the tribals demanded ouster of the "Dikus" (outsiders). The tension between the tribals and non-tribal in Chhotanagpur, or for that matter in other parts of the country as well, is found omnipresent today.

(ii) Owing to the introduction of modern democratic institutions via the establishment of Panchayati Raj in India, the traditional Tribal Councils, in most part of the country, have become obsolete or defunct.

(iii) Although there has been some efforts by the tribals to revive many of their age-old customs, traditions and institutions, but such revival movements have been taking place more for political reasons than for socio-economic and cultural development. Infact, the tribals have realised their importance of being a 'tribe', in terms of constitutional privileges and safeguards. On the one hand their socio-economic and educational level has been increasing, on the other hand, in order to assert their 'tribal identity' and to enjoy the constitutional privileges, they also attempt to revive their obsolete customs and institutions. The revival of *Paraha Panchayat* and *Dhunkuria* (Youth Dormitory) by the Oraons in Chhotanagpur is an effort in the same direction.

(iv) Due to the establishment of democratic institutions and spread of modern education among the tribesmen, there has been tremendous awakening. However it has been observed that in many parts of the country instead of being absorbed in the national mainstream, some tribals are getting isolated to the extent of being declared as 'separatists'. Most of the tribal leaders are associated with the movement launched by the indigenous population group at the global level. If one examines the resolutions and the charter of the demands made by them, such as, the demarcation of the boundary of indigeneous population, their complete right over the natural resources and their right of self-determination, one is afraid that the country would have to be split into as many parts as the number of tribal

groups. Such a situation has today arisen in India today. It is certainly because of over-liberal establishments of different democratic institutions in the country.

(v) The 73rd and 74th Amendment Bill of the constitution of India provides 33 per cent of reservation for women in the election of the local bodies. A number of researches on the impact of reservation for women in the local bodies reveal that the power structure in the rural and tribal villages has hardly changed. It is still male-dominated. The findings of one such study in Uttar Pradesh suggests that in the *Gramsabhas* where a women has been elected as the *Pradhan*, a new concept of *Pradhan-Pati* has emerged. The *Pradhanpati* is not any office bearer of the *Gramsabha*, but infact the husband of the *Pradhan*, who yields all extra constitutional powers. The *Pradhan* women has only to sign at the dictates of her husband.

Thus, From the above examples, it becomes evident that on the one hand there has been marked improvements in the socio-economic and educational conditions and general life style of the tribal and rural population of India owing to the set-up of democratic institutions, on the other hand, it has produced some negative results also.

It is mainly because of the fact that without making them adequately literate, educated, conscious and aware, the democratic set-up is not likely to bring desired results. Therefore, the need of the hour is to thoroughly educate the tribal and rural population of the country, particularly the women.

## TRIBAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

Before the advent of Britishers in India we hardly come across any evidence of tribal movement in the country. Although, according to many historians, before the advent of the Aryans the Proto-Dravidians were none but the tribals. The Aryans not only conquered the Proto Dravidians, but they also attempted to conquer their culture too. It is evident from the fact that in the early Vedas we find the obscure religious cults were denounced by the Aryans, however, in the later Vedas the same cults began to be revered.

During the Medieval Period also, which was dominated by the Muslim rulers, we find little tribal upsurge. The reason was that most of the tribals lived in the inaccessible hilly and forested areas where the muslim armies bothered little to penetrate.

The scenario abruptly changed after the arrival of the Britishers. With the gradual consolidation of power and the spread of British influence in India the commercial exploitation of the luxuriant tropical forest started. The Britishers first needed quality timber for ship-building to improve their navigation, and later introduced Railways in India which needed timber for the extension of Railway track. As a result, the large scale deforestation began and so began the



interference in the tribal life, culture and habitat. The reaction was bound to happen.

What added fuel to the already smouldering fire was the influx of non-tribal population in the predominantly tribal areas. It so happened that with the deforestation the roads were constructed in the otherwise inaccessible tribal areas. This helped the non-tribal *sahukars*, money-lenders, contractors and petty buisnessmen to penetrate in the tribal areas and usurp their land. In addition to that, the Britishers appointed local rulers and zamindars for the collection of taxes. These rulers and landlords had, to increase the production to pay the taxes. The tribals cultivated their land with poor technology and lived mostly at the subsistence level, without any 'surplus production'. Therefore, the local rulers in every tribal area in the country invited and brought the intensive agriculturists from non-tribal area. These agriculturists were granted land in the tribal areas by the Rajas and zamindars. Obviously, there were sufficient reasons for the tribals to react.

There was yet another cause of discontentment among the tribals because of British Policy. The Britishers who came from Europe had primarily the concept of private and individual property in their mind. On the contrary, the tribals considered their land, forest and many other natural resources to be their clan or community property. Thus, at the initial stage of British spread and influence in India, there was a clash between the concept of private property and community property. In the later half of the 18th century number of tribal upsurges took place in Chhotanagpur primarily because of the above reasons.

The Tamar Revolt of 1784 is one of them. In the Chhotanagpur area a series of such tribal disturbances took place in 1789, 1801, 1807 and 1808. These tribal upsurges were iron-handedly suppressed by the Britishers with the help of armed forces. However, the Britishers realised that instead of force everlasting peace policy should be adopted in such cases. And accordingly they did pacify many of the tribal uprisings.

**The Pahariya Movement** - During the second half of the 18th century the pahariyas, a tribal group living in the hills of Raj Mahal district of Bihar, resisted a lot against the British rule. In 1778 Augustus Cleaveland was appointed collector of the Raj Mahal district by the East-India Company. Since Cleaveland was already Assistant Collector in the district working under Captain Brown, he was well-versed in Pahariyas life and culture. Soon after taking charge he discussed the matter with Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and chalked out an administrative plan to establish Hill Assembly. He provided *sanad* and pension to the tribal chief and sub-chiefs and cases with regard to resistance were withdrawn.

The lands held by Pahariyas were made rent free. The entire Pahariya area was granted the status of '*Damin-i-koh*' and was, thus, included under 'non-regulation area'. Schools were opened and enormous revenue and executive power were granted to the *chiefs* i.e., the *sardars*. Cleaveland also organised regular tribal markets (bazaars) where the forest-products collected by the tribals, could be sold to non-tribals. Unfortunately at an early age of 29 Cleaveland died in 1784.

The schemes and devices introduced by Claveland shattered into pieces as his successors lacked interest in tribal life and culture. The Hill Assembly started by him also became defunct. The educational institutions were closed. The stipends to the tribal chiefs were stopped and finally as per the Regulation of 1827 Damin-i-koh area lost its special status.

**The Kol Movement** - In the early 1830s, a rebellion took place in the Singhbhum district of South Bihar which rapidly spread to the other parts of Chhotanagpur such as Ranchi and Hazaribagh districts. Historically it is known as the Kol Rebellion of 1831.

The district of Singhbhum is inhabited by the Ho tribe which is an offshoot of the Mundas. The Singhbhum district is one of the most densely forested areas in the country. The *sal* tree of Singhbhum forest is world renowned. This area is locally known as *kolhan*. The chief of the Ho village is called '*Munda*'; several villages constitute a '*ptr*' or '*Paraha*'. The chief of the Paraha is called '*Manki*'. Traditionally the *Munda* and the *Mankis* are the political heads of the village and '*paraha*' respectively.

In the 1830s the local ruler who belonged to the ruling family of Chhotanagpur granted a number of Ho villages to the outsiders. The Ho's were already agitated because of British interference and the outsiders who had penetrated in their areas in search of business and livelihood. The granting of Ho villages to the non-tribals by the local ruler ignited the already agitated mood of the tribals. Eventually they burnt several villages and killed several non-tribals too.

Captain T. Wilkinson who happened to be the administrator brought peace by introducing several enactments which are known as 'Wilkinson's Rule of 1837'. Under this rule the '*Mundas*' and '*Mankies*' were recognised and granted enormous judicial, executive and revenue powers. Their traditional political system in terms of *Manki Paraha* was recognised. The Britishers, instead of collecting revenue and taxes from the local ruler empowered the *mankies* and *Mundas* to collect the same and give it to the Britishers. Thus, there was sort of truce established.

In the recent years, taking advantage of the Wilkinson's Rule 1837, some educated tribals from the '*kolhan*' area have been agitating for a separate state of *kolhanistan*.



**Santhal Rebellion 1885** - The Santhal Revolt of 1855 was the result of excessive encroachment by the non-tribals viz., the money-lenders, contractors and businessmen in the Santhal area. During the mid 19th century the local zamindars, in order to boost the land production, brought a number of non-tribals in the Santhal area. The result was that the santhals got themselves alienated from their land and fell in debt to money-lenders. Even the Courts could not provide relief to them. The simple, illiterate and poor santhals easily became victims of the corrupt government officials and money-lenders.

Ultimately in July 1885 four santhals namely Siddhu, Kanhu, Chand and Bhairav rose in rebellion against the Dikus i.e., the outsiders. A British force under Major F.W. Burrough was sent to suppress the movement. After repeated failure Major Burrough finally succeeded in subduing the Santhals.

British Government, however, realised the magnitude of exploitation of Santhals by the zamindars and money-lenders and Regulation XXXVII was introduced in 1855 which made *Danin-i-koh* area of santhal exempted from the general laws. A Police Rule, 1856 was also introduced in the area according to which a santhal could file his complaints even verbally, without writing a petition.

**Birsa Movement 1895** - In the backdrop of already persisting discontent among the tribals of Chhotanagpur owing to exploitation by the local rulers, zamindars, money-lenders and *Dikus* (i.e. outsiders) at the fag end of the 19th century, the role of Christian Missionaries added fuel to the fire which converted into a violent movement led by Birsa Munda-a young tribal from Maranghata village of Arki Block of Khuti sub-division in Ranchi district. The legendary tribal leader Birsa is better known as *Birsa Bhagwan*. Birsa Bhagwan has become a cult in Chhotanagpur today and is a symbol of liberation and fight against injustice. In the Jharkhand area any movement today launched for the demand of a separate state of Jharkhand begins with garlanding the statue of legendary hero and the son of the soil Birsa Bhagwan.

Birsa Munda was baptized in his early childhood, but later on he was converted to Hinduism. He was supposed to possess some spiritual power. When he rose against the exploiters and the missionaries, the tribals followed him blindly and took up arms. He was arrested by the British army and imprisoned in Ranchi Jail where he died of cholera in 1900 A.D. However, it is believed that he was poisoned by the British authorities.

After Birsa's death, the Britishers were forced to pay attention to the existing exploitation and resultant tribal problems. The outcome of it was the Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 which was passed to provide protection of the tribals their land, their culture and tradition etc.

**Khond Rising (1837-56)** - The Khond Rising of Orissa in the first half of the 19th century is yet another typical tribal uprising during the British period.

Although the causes of this uprising are similar to the other such uprisings, but the immediate cause was that of human sacrifice-a superstitious belief that the human sacrifice increases the yield of the crops as also reduces the chances of draughts and famine and calamities. It is to be noted that the Khond in Orissa are mostly found in the Kalahandi district which is even today a draught prone area. It is surprising that this practice was also supported by the *sardars* of Ghumsar, Chinakimedi and the zamindars of Midnapur (West- Bengal) and Bastar (M.P.). The leader of this movement was *Chakra Bisoi*.

The British authorities resorted to repressive measures and finally defeated this superstitious task. They created the 'Maria Agency'. Captain M.C. Macpherson was made first such agent in 1845. G.E. Russel was made Special Commissioner of Ghumsar who when failed to persuade the khond to give up this practice and declared war against the Khond. In 1855 the government realised the problems of the Khond so the whole area came under the direct rule of central government and hence schools, hospitals and other welfare works were started.

**Bhuiyan and Juang Rising in Keonjhar (1867-68-1891-93)** - During the mid 19th century, yet another tribal upsurge took place in Orissa, predominantly led by the Bhuiyans and the Juangs. These tribal groups are scattered in Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Gangpur, Bamra, Kalahandi, Dhenkanal etc. These tribal groups were always loyal to the Raja of Keonjhar.

The trouble started after the death of Raja Gadadhar in 1861. In the dispute of succession the Britishers interfered and instituted their protege on the throne. This was resented by the tribals. The presence of Bhuiyan Sardars was considered essential at the coronation of the king of Keonjhar. The widow of the deceased king Rani Vishnu Priya instigated Bhuiyan Sardars to fight against the British. It was suppressed by the British. This revolt was led by Ratna Nayak.

The second revolt, led by Dharanidhar Nayak paralysed the state administration completely and forced the Raja to take refuge in Cuttack. In 1891-93 the Britishers paid attention to the cause of the tribals, a number of laws were enacted to ensure the welfare of the tribals in that area.

In addition to the above movements a number of other tribal upsurges took place in many other parts of the country. For example, in Andhra Pradesh a number of tribals revolted against exploitation by zamindars in the years 1803, 1862, 1879 and 1880. In this instance the *Tana Bhagat* Movement led by *Jatra Oraon* of Bishnupur Block of present Gumla district also deserve mention. The Tana Bhagats were influenced by the Satyagraha and Non-co-operation Movement of Mahatma Gandhi.

**Tribal Movements of the North-East** - The tribal movement of the North-East deserve special mention owing to its altogether different characteristics. Whereas such movements, during the British period in other parts of the country was



mainly directed against exploitation by zamindars, money-lenders and outsiders, the tribal movements in the North-East was mainly because of racial factors. Even today it poses a great problem to the country. The main movements that have so far taken place in this regions are the Naga Movement, the Mizo Movement, the Khasi solidarity Movement, the Bodo-land Movement, the tribal movement in Tripura and the Zeliangrong Movement in Manipur.

**Zeliangrong Movement** - The groups of the Nagas viz., the Zemi, the Liangmei and the Rengamei were involved in this movement who joined the non-cooperation movement of Mahatma Gandhi in 1920s. The leader of the movement was Jadonong. It was initially targeted against the spread of Christianity. Jadonang proposed a new religion against Christianity which was known as "Heraka". In the beginning it appeared to be a reformative and revivalistic movement. However, it later turned to establish "Naga Raj". After the death of Jadonang the movement was led by Rani Gaidinliu, who was later sentenced to life imprisonment by the Britishers only to be released after India's independence in 1947.

The above mentioned tribal movements were all during the British period. After independence it first appeared that the troubles in the tribal areas had been over.

In the new constitution of the Republic of India, a number of protective and promotive measures were adopted. It was believed that the constitutional privileges and safeguards would sufficiently protect the tribals from exploitation, land-alienation, indebtedness etc. and educational and economic measures would soon help them join the mainstream of national life. But within a decade the repercussions from different tribal areas began to surface.

First of all, large scale influx of Bangladeshis, and other non-tribal groups from India took place in the North-East, causing demographic imbalance. In most of the areas, non-tribals outnumbered the tribals. The democratic set-up of the country provided the privilege of adult-franchise. Thus, the number of votes became important, politically and otherwise. The result was that the tribals again resorted to movements against the outsiders, often violently. The situation today in the North-East is alarming. Everyday hundreds of innocent people or the security forces are killed in Bodo Area of Assam or Tripura or Manipur or Nagaland. Although during the last five decades of our independence most of the separatist movements such as the Naga, the Mizo and the likewise have been considerably suppressed and democratic institutions have been established but the situations are far from satisfactory.

In Jharkhand area also the situations changed drastically after independence. It is to be noted that the Chhotanagpur plateau, predominantly inhabited by 25 different tribal groups, provide 42 per cent of the total mineral resources of the country. After 1960, large scale industrialization and urbanization took place in

this area. It, obviously, resulted into large-scale influx of people from outsiders. The tribals who already resented the "Dikus" have been today outnumbered by the non-tribals. According to an estimate, in Chhotanagpur and Santhal Parganas, out of total population only thirteen per cent are tribals, and that too, scattered in different districts.

In addition to that, the revenue collected from the predominantly tribal districts are not adequately allotted to the development of the people and the area. Therefore, mounting dissatisfaction can be found among the tribals there. Their grievances are vented in the movement for a separate state of "Jharkhand".

Similar to the Jharkhand Movement, the demand of separate state has been coming from the tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh (Chhatisgarh Movement) and Maharashtra (Vidarbha Movement).



## Chapter 14

# ROLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN TRIBAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Tribal or rural development is though not an exclusive task of anthropologists alone, as any developmental work should be done through multidisciplinary approach nevertheless, anthropology can play a greater role in this context is also equally true. Of all the social sciences anthropology has the distinction of having fieldwork tradition. Regorous training in the field enables an anthropologist to be more familiar with the tribal and rural environment than others. Whereas other social scientist collect data through observation, interview, questionnaire, schedule etc. an anthropologist collects his data maximum through participant observation method i.e. by living among the natives for a long span times. Eminent British social anthropologist Brownislow Kasper Mallinowski suggested that an anthropologist should empathize with the native people. Today the exponents of new ethnography go on even to the extent to suggest that an anthropologist should enter into the head of the native. Thus an anthropologist does certainly have more experience of tribal or rural life than any other social scientist, and therefore, he is in a better position not only to understand tribal or rural problems but also to suggest solution of them.

A look into the applied aspect of anthropology suggests that anthropologists have always helped the administration in solving the tribal problems. As early in 1936 E.E. Evans Pritchard was sent from Oxford by the British government to study the problems of the *Nuer* a Nilotic people of Sudan in Africa. Evans Pritchard not only appropriately studied the problems of the people but also suggested the government how it could consolidate its colonial rule without facing any resistance from the native people. After the experience of Evans Pritchards' study the British government made it mandatory for its officers to undergo a course of training in social-cultural anthropology before his posting in a tribal area. During the pre Independence era an Indian Civil Service (ICS) officer before his posting in a tribal area also received training in anthropology in England.

After the second world war in America a new movement began under the leadership of Prof. Sol Tax. Prof. Tax introduced a new term viz. Action Anthropology. Whereas the role of applied anthropology was merely that of 'an adviser' in action anthropology the entire financial and administration powers

were granted to anthropologist for tribal and rural development. Very faithful results were procured in U.S.A under Action Anthropology Programme. A number of Red Indian Communities lived at a miserable conditions while some of them were at the verge of extinctions. Prof. Sol Tax helped the American Government by Applied and Action Anthropological Researches.

Having been inspired by the work of Sol Tax a number of Indian anthropologist began action anthropological researches in India. Notable among them are Prof. L.P. Vidyarthi and Prof. P.K. Bhowmik. Prof. Vidyarthi introduced action anthropology research programme among the *Birhor* a nomadic tribes of South Bihar and Prof. Bhowmik undertook the developmental works among the *Lodhas* an Ex-Criminal tribe of Midnapur district of West Bengal.

Vidyarthi, in his book "*Applied Anthropology in India*" suggested that an anthropologist was not merely a 'social doctor' who diagnosed the evils of society but also a 'social engineer' who could successfully reconstruct healthy society.

The above assertion of Prof. Vidyarthi is based upon two exclusive characteristics of the science of man. First of all an anthropologist studies a social phenomena with 'scientific objectivity' and secondly an anthropologist while studying a society maintains 'cultural relativism.'

By some scholars such as A.R. Redcliffe Brwon social anthropology is considered as a natural science. Therefore such anthropologist have given immense emphasis on scientific objectivity. They consider that as a natural scientist studies a natural phenomena without influencing the course of events, likewise an anthropologist also should study a social phenomena without influencing it. Thus an objective study of a social phenomena can only furnish an objective view of the problems faced by any society. Therefore, an anthropologists has an additional edge over other social scientists in identifying the problems of a society as well as suggesting solutions to them. It has already been mentioned that fieldwork is also an exclusive characteristic of anthropology. When anthropology was still in its nascent form in America Franz Boas introduced the concept of cultural relativism. Today cultural relativism has become the ethics or the very code of conduct of an anthropologist. Boas argued that while in fieldwork an anthropologist must forget his own cultural background. He must, in no case make his own cultural standard a yardstick to judge the values of other's culture. Cultural relativism appears to be an easier task than being done. The 19th century evolutionists, it is alleged, that they could not maintain cultural relativism hence became victim of ethno-centrism.

The idea of cultural relativism was further reinforced by Malinowski. Malinowski suggested, that an anthropologist must enable himself to think as did the natives thought. And the New Ethnographers attempted a step further and tried to enter into the head of the native.



In his article "Anthropology and Challenges a Development" David G. Mandelbaum (1980) has listed four important characteristics of anthropology viz, (1) Holistic view, (2) Field work, (3) Relating Micro view to Macro view and, (4) Comparative perspective.

In spite of their main interest in academic and fundamental researches, the anthropologists are today in great demand. The contribution of anthropologists is now frankly acknowledged by the World Bank. The Annual Report of the World Bank for 1977 explicitly admits that "Greater understanding is needed of the social and cultural constraints affecting the rural poor .... To gain a better understanding of the pathology of poverty, the Bank, in several cases is now including sociological and anthropological assessment as part of project design and appraisal."

T. Scarlett Epstein in his article "The Ideal Marriage between the Economists Macro approach and Social Anthropologist Micro approach to Development (1975 : 100) observed that studies by anthropologists offer a sounder basis than do many of the unreliable macro economic surveys in the developing countries. He further added that the macro-approach of the economists and the micro approach of the anthropologists must combine if planning has to be more realistic.

While discussing the role of anthropology in tribal and rural development, Glynn Cochrane, in his article "What We Can Do For Each Other : An Interdisciplinary Approach of Development Anthropology" (1976) has observed as follows :

The Third World badly needs the kinds of expertise that only anthropologists possess. What special attributes does anthropology have? What would be the utility of an anthropological dimension in development work? My own experience suggests some obvious strengths. First, anthropological method of data collection are capable of producing unique information of high quality; second, anthropologists have an interest in human motivation which is of inestimable value in making calculations about development policies and their consequences, third, anthropologists have a humanistic orientation which usually causes them to examine the ethical and moral basis for change against the needs of the people whose wants those changes are supposed to serve.

H.M. Mathur in his book, "Anthropology and Development in Traditional Societies" (1995), has extensively dealt with the role of anthropology in poverty alleviation programme, anthropology and public administration, role of anthropology in modernising traditional agriculture, controlling population growth, rehabilitating displaced persons and implementing programmes of human development as also putting anthropology to practical uses. In his preface to the First Edition he observed, "The long field experience as an administrator of various development assignments for Government in India and in other Third

World Countries under auspices of the United Nations has amply convinced me that development task will require much greater involvement of anthropologists in the development process in all its stages than is presently the case. Unless anthropologists who happen to be most knowledgeable about the poor are closely associated with decision making regarding their future, the development plan will continue to by pass them, producing no demonstrable change in traditional societies."



## Chapter 15

# REGIONALISM, COMMUNALISM AND ETHNO-POLITICAL MOVEMENT AND THE ROLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Before we discuss the contributions of anthropology to the understanding of the above maladies of Indian Society, it is desirable to discuss the characteristics of communalism, regionalism, and ethno-political movements in India.

**Communalism** – The expression 'communalism' has two shades of meaning—one, innocuous (harmless) and other sinister (harmful). A society characterised by commune denotes to a system of organisation in which its members believe in and practice communal living.

Unfortunately in India, communalism has acquired a perverted connotation and means the evil practice of exploiting religion or caste by the members of a community or caste to get an unfair political advantage, undue material gain, patronage or favourable treatment in matters of selection or appointment or promotion to officers or posts under the government as against legitimate rights, interests and aspirations of the rival community or castes. This brand of communalism is vicious to nationalism, deleterious to democracy, dangerous to the integrity of the country, inimical to peace and progress and repugnant to the basic human values.

If we examine the communalism in India in historical perspective we find that in spite of its diversity there has been always an underlying unity in India. During the Medieval period *Sufism* and *Bhakti* Movements brought the Hindus and Muslims close to a certain extent and expanded areas of religious and cultural harmony. There are a number of examples that the muslim scholars studied and translated Hindu scriptures, thoughts, astronomy and mathematics in Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages. Mention can be made of Albaruni's "Kitab-ul-Hind" (the Book on India).

Dara Sikoh, in Moghal period, was another admirer of Hindu thought and philosophy. He translated many Hindu works into Persian language and wrote his magnum opus "*Majma-ul-Bahrayn*". (meeting of two great oceans i.e., Hinduism and Islam).

The communal disharmony started taking ugly shape during the British period. The Britishers framed legislative, executive and administrative set-up to meet their vested interests by adopting the policy of '*Divide and Rule*'. This policy, ultimately, resulted into the partition of the Indian sub-continent into two nations viz., India and Pakistan.

The sub-continent was divided in the name of religion. Although India adopted a secular and democratic national policy and constitution, but ever since its inception, Pakistan has been fermenting communalism and inciting communal forces in India from across the border. The communal frenzy reached its zenith in independent India after the demolition of the disputed "Babri Mosque" at Ayodhya on 6th December, 1992. The entire country, during this period, was reeling under communal frenzy and in more than forty cities curfew had been clamped from dawn to dusk.

The exodus of Kashmiri Pundits from Jammu & Kashmir Valley is yet another ugly instance of communalism in India. The communalism in the country is not to be found between the Hindus and Muslims alone but it prevails even among the Hindus and Christians. In some parts of Madhya Pradesh, tension can be found between the two communities.

In addition to religion, linguistic and racial communalism is also prevalent in different geo-climatic regions of the country. For example, in different states of India such as Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Kashmir, violent resentment, often, take place against the imposition of Hindi language. In the North East racial conflicts between the different rival tribal groups have become the order of the life.

**Regionalism** : Regionalism can be described as the tendency by which the inhabitants of a particular region provide special privileges to the members of their own region as against those coming from other regions. It is, in fact, a parochial tendency which mars the very cause of national integration.

"Regionalism also implies loyalty, attachment and devotion of a people to their region because of a common language and literature, common traditions and history, common interests and a common consciousness of rights and wrongs".

Regionalism has been manifest not only in the predominant tribal areas but even in those areas which are culturally similar. As far as regionalism in the tribal areas are concerned, it is reflected in the movements of Jharkand, Chhatisgarh, Vidarbha, Bodo Land and Nagaland.

In the predominantly non-tribal areas the regionalism can be observed in the *Uttarakhand* and *Purvanchal* Movements in Uttar Pradesh, the demand of *Gorakhaland* in West Bengal and the demand of *Khalistan* in Punjab (although *Khalistan* is regarded as a separatist movement).



The sudden growth and success of the regional political parties at the hustings (election) in different states is also a manifestation of regionalism in India. For example, the *Akali Dal* in Punjab, *Assam Gan Parishad*, Assam, *D.M.K.* and *A.I.D.M.K.* in Tamil Nadu, *Gorakha National Liberation Front* (GNLF) in Darjeeling, *Telgu Desham* in Andhra Pradesh, *Shiv Sena* in Maharashtra etc. are some of the glaring examples of the development of regional politics in India.

### ETHNO-POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

When a group, or several groups of people, on the basis of identical racial and cultural characteristics unite and fight for their 'rights' and 'identity' under a political banner is called an Ethno-Political Movement. Today, Ethno-political Movements, which has become a global phenomena have been continuously threatening the national integration of our country too.

The collapse of the erstwhile U.S.S.R. was the result of Ethno-political Movements. Such movements have taken utmost-ugly shape in different countries of the continent of Africa. The killing in Karachi, Beirut and even Ireland, as also in different other parts of the globe are but the results of such ethno-political movements.

It has been observed that wherever demographic imbalance takes place, the indigenous and some times the minority groups unite to protect their interests. It has been evident in case of different ethno-political movements in India.

Let us discuss some such movements of our country.

**The Jharkhand Movement** - Discussion on Jharkhand Movement has been made at different places in this volume. Nevertheless, the demand of the state of Jharkhand was first mooted out by Jaipal Singh Munda during the 1930s. Due to Jawahar Lal Nehru's influence on him, this movement diffused soon after independence. The Jharkhand Party organised by Jaipal Singh Munda split into several groups. In the 1970s it was once again revived under the leadership of *Shibu Soren*.

Today the demand of separate state of Jharkhand is not merely confined to the predominant tribal districts of Chhotanagpur and Santhal Pargana (as initially envisaged by Jaipal Singh Munda), but it comprises altogether 28 districts of Bihar, Bengal, M.P., and Orissa inhabited by the tribals. The main tribes that live in the proposed Jharkhand area are the *Munda*, the *Oraon*, the *Ho*, the *Kharia*, the *Santhal*, the *Lodhas*, the *Baigas*, the *Karwa* etc, besides, a number of the smaller group like the *Birhor*, the *Kisan*, the *Birjla*, the *Asurs* etc.

As far as the causes of this movement are concerned, initially it was launched against the '*dikus*' (outsiders) mainly consisting of the *Sahukars*, money lenders, contractors and even the local petty zamindars. However, after independence, more serious causes were added in this movement. It has been earlier discussed

that the enormous potential of natural and mineral resources and outburst of industrialization attracted large number of people not only from the different parts of the state but country as well. As a result not only the tribal life and culture is at the brink of identity crisis but also unprecedented demographic imbalance has occurred there. According to an estimate in the proposed Jharkhand area today 87 per cent of the total population is non-tribal and merely 13 per cent constitute the tribal population. Such an ethnic ratio is bound to backfire.

In the recent years Bihar government has constituted 'Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council' (JAAC), however, the people, in general, are not satisfied with the functioning of J.A.A.C, and the demand of separate state of Jharkhand is again being raised.

### ETHNIC MOVEMENTS IN ASSAM

The United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) is demanding a separate state under Article 244 (A) of the Indian constitution. The movement which has often turned violent and disruptive has paralysed the law and order situation in Assam. Besides ULFA, the tribals of Assam's Brahmaputra valley have been demanding a separate state of Bodoland. The agitation for the Bodoland is being led by the 'All Bodo Students' Union' (ABSU) which earlier fought a prolonged battle of attrition with the Assam Gan Parishad.

The agitators of ABSU have many times resorted to killings, disrupted road communication, destroyed rail bridges often resulting into isolation of Assam and other areas of the North-East from the rest of the country.

There is growing apprehension that the influx of outsiders particularly from Bangladesh and other adjoining areas would soon outnumber the local population. However, economic backwardness is also the cause of growing ethno political problems in Assam.

**Gorakhaland Movement** - The demand of Gorakhaland has been raised by the mongoloid population of the three districts of West Bengal viz., Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong. The activists are Gorakhas.

Till recently this Himalayan region was quite peaceful and attracted hundreds and thousands of tourists from different parts of the country and world as well. However, during the 1980s, the Gorakhas, having Mongolian physical features realised that gradually they were being outnumbered by the outsiders. Not only this but all the key posts, in these Himalayan districts, were occupied by Bengalis. They also felt that overwhelming influence of Bengali culture in their land. At this juncture Subhash Ghising united the people and led a violent movement for separate Gorakhaland. The movement was led under the banner of Gorakha National Liberation Front. Darjeeling, became standstill during the



1980s. However, after negotiations with the West-Bengal Government an Autonomous Hill Council was constituted with Subhash Ghising as its chairman. The Khalistan Movement - The movement for a separate State of Khalistan is another example of ethno-political movement. Because of this movement the state of Punjab has been in trouble for over one and half decade. Thousands of innocent people have been killed; Operation Blue Star was conducted at the Golden Temple at Amritsar, the holiest shrine of the Sikhs. In its aftermath Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, was assassinated in 1984. Even today the Khalistan Movement is a cause of trouble to the Republic of India and a law and order problem in the state of Punjab.

In the above paragraphs some of the burning ethno-political movements that the country has been facing have been discussed. There are many such movements going on in different parts of the country. For example, Tripura National Front, Bengali National Volunteer Party (BNVP) as well as different Naga Organisations have been agitating for their rights and privileges either in the name of race and language or culture.

**Role of Anthropology** - The science of anthropology has certain specific characteristics. It studies man in totality; it studies a social phenomena with scientific objectivity; it studies with the help of participant observation method; and, it studies a social or cultural phenomena specifically with the view point of 'cultural relativism'. As a result an anthropological study is always free from bias and there is no place of ethnocentrism in it. Cultural relativism, which has become an ethical code of conduct of an anthropologist enables him to study a culture without making his own cultural standards as yardsticks to measure the values of other's culture. Participant observation also enables him to empathize with the local culture and sentiments of the people. Therefore, an anthropologist is always in a better position than any other social scientist to study the problems of society and culture and suggest answer to them.

In this context, Margaret Mead's and L.P. Vidyarthi's opinions are very pertinent. They claimed that an anthropologist could be a good 'social doctor' as well as 'social engineer'. The Applied and Action anthropology are very much concerned with such social problems and their amelioration.

In case of communalism, regionalism and ethno-political movements an anthropologist can play a great role. It is hoped that the root cause of all social and cultural conflicts lie in economic factors. Economic factors directly influence the political, religious and other social factors.

On the basis of above hypothesis if we examine the Jharkhand, the Bodoland, the Gorakhaland or any other such movements we will discover that economic disparity has been the chief cause of such movements. Such economic disparities in the above cases are primarily because of demographic imbalances. Therefore,

the planners and executors of the plans must ensure that in no case such demographic imbalance and economic disparity take place in any part of the country, which would otherwise always backfire in terms of violent movements and agitations. It is a sorry state of affairs that our political leaders have never envisaged such mounting problems of the country in a positive manner.

In case of the North-East large-scale exodus of Bangladeshis outnumbered the Indian citizens. But for the 'Vote Banks' none of the political parties paid attention to it and the problem of 'identity crisis' surfaced before the local people. The same has happened in Jharkhand and other parts of the country. Thus, a team of trained anthropologists with multi-disciplinary approach is required to study the problems of communalism, regionalism and ethno-political movements and suggest appropriate solutions to them.



## Alphabetical List of Scheduled Tribes

Sl. No.	Scheduled Tribe	State/Union Territory where Scheduled
1	2	3
<b>A</b>		
1.	Abor	Arunachal Pradesh.
2.	Adiyan	Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu.
3.	Advichincher	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.
4.	Agaria	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
5.	Agariya	Madhya Pradesh.
6.	Aimol	Manipur.
7.	Aka	Arunachal Pradesh.
8.	Anal	Manipur.
9.	Andh	Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
10.	Andamanese	Andaman & Nicobar Islands.
11.	Angami	Manipur.
12.	Apatani	Arunachal Pradesh.
13.	Arakh	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
14.	Arandan	Kerala, Tamilnadu.
15.	Arrakh	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
16.	Asur (Gond)	Bihar, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
<b>B</b>		
1.	Baiga	Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa and West Bengal.
2.	Balte (Kuki)	Mizoram.
3.	Balawa (Andamanese)	Andaman & Nicobar Islands.
4.	Balte (Kuki)	Tripura.
5.	Bamcha (Bavacha)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.
6.	Banjara	Bihar, Orissa.
7.	Banjari (Banjara)	Orissa.
8.	Barda	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.
9.	Barela (Bhil)	Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan.
10.	Barmans	Assam.
11.	Barodia (Vitolia)	Karnataka, Maharashtra.
12.	Bartika (Kotia)	Andhra Pradesh.
13.	Bathudi	Bihar, Orissa.
14.	Bawacha	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.
15.	Bea	A & N Islands.
16.	Bedia	Bihar, West Bengal.
17.	Bediya (Bedia)	West Bengal.
18.	Belahut (Kuki)	Tripura.

1	2	3
19.	Bentho Oriya (Kotia)	Andhra Pradesh.
20.	Bhagalia (Bhil)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
21.	Bhaina	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
22.	Bhar (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
23.	Bharia (Bharia Bhumia)	Madhya Pradesh.
24.	Bharia (Bhumia)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
25.	Bharwad	Gujrat.
26.	Bhatola (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
27.	Bhatta	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
28.	Bhil	Andhra Pradesh, Gujrat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Tripura.
29.	Bhil Garasia (Bhil)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
30.	Bhil Mina	Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan.
31.	Bhilala (Bhil)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
32.	Bhimma (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
33.	Bhine Koya (Koya)	Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra.
34.	Bhoi (Khasi)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
35.	Bhol	Himachal Pradesh.
36.	Bhotia	Uttar Pradesh.
37.	Bhottada	Orissa.
38.	Bhumihar Bhumia (Bharia Bhumia)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
39.	Bhuiya	Orissa.
40.	Bhumij	Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal.
41.	Bhuta (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
42.	Bhumia (Bharia Bhumia)	Madhya Pradesh.
43.	Bhumia	Orissa.
44.	Bhunja	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa.
45.	Bhutia	Sikkim, Tripura, West Bengal.
46.	Bhuyan (Bhuiya)	Orissa.
47.	Biar	Madhya Pradesh.
48.	Biate (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
49.	Beite (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
50.	Birhor (Birhol)	Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal.
51.	Binjhal	Orissa.
52.	Binjha	Bihar, Orissa.
53.	Binjhoa (Binjhia)	Orissa.
54.	Binjhar	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
55.	Birhor	Bihar, Madhya Pradesh (Birhol), Maharashtra (Birhol), Orissa, West Bengal.
56.	Birhul	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.



1	2	3
57. Birjia		Bihar, West Bengal.
58. Bison-horn Maria (Gond)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
59. Biyar (Biar)		Madhya Pradesh.
60. Bo (Andamanese)		A & N Islands.
61. Bodh (Bhot)		Himachal Pradesh.
62. Bojigiyab (Andamanese)		A & N Islands.
63. Bondeya (Korku)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
64. Bondhi (Korku)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
65. Bondo Poraja		Orissa.
66. Bopchi (Korku)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
67. Boro		Assam.
68. Barodia (Vitola)		Gujrat, Maharashtra.
69. Borokachari (Boro)		Assam.
70. Buksa		Uttar Pradesh.
71. Bada Maria (Gond)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
72. Badimaria (Gond)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
73. Bagata		Andhra Pradesh, Orissa.
74. Bahelia (Pardhi)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
75. Bahellia (Pardhi)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.

## C

1. Chaimal		Tripura.
2. Chakma		Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Tripura, West Bengal.
3. Changsan (Kuki)		Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
4. Charan		Gujrat.
5. Chari (Andamanese)		A & N Islands.
6. Chariar (Andamanese)		A & N Islands.
7. Chattri (Kawar)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
8. Chaudhri		Gujrat.
9. Chenchu		Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Orissa.
10. Chenchwar (Chenchu)		Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka.
11. Chero		Bihar, West Bengal.
12. Cherwa (Kawar)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
13. Chhalya (Kuki)		Tripura.
14. Chik Baraik		Bihar, West Bengal.
15. Chiru		Manipur.
16. Chitapardhi (Pardhi)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
17. Chodhara		Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.
18. Chohivalanayak (Naikda)		Maharashtra, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Gujrat.
19. Chohivalanayaka (Naikda)		Karnataka, Rajasthan, Gujrat.
20. Chongloi (Kuki)		Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
21. Chotamaria (Gond)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
22. Chothe		Manipur.
23. Chumbi		Sikkim.

1	2	3
D		
1. Dafla		Arunachal Pradesh.
2. Dal		Orissa.
3. Damaria (Damor)		Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan.
4. Damor		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
5. Dandami Maria (Gond)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
6. Daroi (Gond)		Madhya Pradesh.
7. Dasaya Konds (Kondhs)		Andhra Pradesh.
8. Deori		Assam.
9. Desua Bhumij		Orissa.
10. Dhangad (Oraon)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
11. Dhanka (Oraon)		Gujrat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
12. Dhanwar		Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh.
13. Dharua		Orissa.
14. Dhoba (Gond)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
15. Dhodia		Gujrat, Maharashtra, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Goa, Daman & Diu.
16. Dholi Bhil (Bhil)		Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
17. Dhor (koli)		Maharashtra.
18. Dhora		Andhra Pradesh.
19. Dhor Katkari (Kathodi)		Rajasthan, Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.
20. Dhor Kathodi (Kathodi)		Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
21. Dhotada (Bhottada)		Orissa.
22. Dhulia (Gond)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra. (Kotia) Andhra Pradesh.
23. Dhuru (Gond)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
24. Dhurwa (Gond)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
25. Didayi		Orissa.
26. Dimasa		Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
27. Dongar Koli (Koli)		Maharashtra.
28. Dongria Konds (Kondhs)		Andhra Pradesh.
29. Dophapa		Sikkim.
30. Dorla (Gond)		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
31. Doungel (Kuki)		Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
32. Dobra		Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Goa, Daman & Diu.
33. Dulia		Andhra Pradesh.
34. Dukpa (Bhutia)		Sikkim, West Bengal.
35. Dungri Bhil (Bhil)		Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
36. Dungri Garasia (Bhil)		Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.

## E

1. Eravallan		Kerala, Tamilnadu.
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1	2	3
	<b>F</b>	
1. Fun	Tripura.	
	<b>G</b>	
1. Gadsba	Madhya Pradesh, Orissa.	
2. Gadabas	Andhra Pradesh.	
3. Gadba (Gadaba)	Madhya Pradesh.	
4. Gaddi	Himachal Pradesh.	
5. Garka (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
6. Gaita (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
7. Galong	Arunachal Pradesh.	
8. Gamalhou (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
9. Gamit	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.	
10. Gamta (Gamit)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.	
11. Gandia	Orissa.	
12. Gangte (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram.	
13. Garasia	Rajasthan.	
14. Garo	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, West Bengal.	
15. Garoo	Tripura.	
16. Gatta (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
17. Gatti (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
18. Gavit (Gamit)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.	
19. Ghara	Orissa.	
20. Gond	Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujrat, Karnatka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, West Bengal.	
21. Gond Gowari (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
22. Gondo	Orissa.	
23. Gorait	Bihar, West Bengal.	
24. Goud	Andhra Pradesh.	
25. Goudu	Andhra Pradesh.	
26. Gowdalu	Karnataka.	
27. Gujjar	Himachal Pradesh.	
28. Guite (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
	<b>H</b>	
1. Hajang	West Bengal.	
2. Hajango (Kuki)	Tripura.	
3. Hajong	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
4. Hakkipikki	Karnataka.	
5. Halam	Tripura.	
6. Halba	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
7. Halbi	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
8. Halpai (Dubla)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Goa, Daman and Diu.	

1	2	3
9. Hanneng (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
10. Haokip (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
11. Haolai (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
12. Hasalaru	Karnataka.	
13. Haupit (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
14. Hengna	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
15. Hill Maria (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
16. Hill Pulaya	Kerala.	
17. Hil Raddis	Andhra Pradesh.	
18. Hmar	Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
19. Ho	Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal.	
20. Hojai	Assam.	
21. Holva (Kotia)	Andhra Pradesh, Orissa.	
22. Hongsungh (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
23. Hrangkhwa (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
	<b>I</b>	
1. Irulan (Irular)	Kerala.	
2. Irular	Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu.	
3. Iruliga	Karnataka.	
	<b>J</b>	
1. Jad	Himachal Pradesh.	
2. Jaintia (Khasi)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
3. Jamatia	Tripura.	
4. Jangtei	Tripura.	
5. Jarawas	A & N Islands.	
6. Jatapu	Orissa.	
7. Jatapus	Andhra Pradesh.	
8. Jaunsari	Uttar Pradesh.	
9. Jenu Kuruba	Karnataka.	
10. Jongbe (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
11. Juang	Orissa.	
12. Juwai	A & N Islands.	
	<b>K</b>	
1. Kabui	Manipur.	
2. Kacha Naga	Manipur.	
3. Kachari	Assam, (Dimas) Meghalaya, Nagaland.	
4. Kadar	Kerala, Tamilnadu.	
5. Kadu Kuruba	Karnataka.	
6. Kagatay (Bhutia)	Sikkim, West Bengal.	
7. Kalanga (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
8. Kamar	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
9. Kammara	Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu.	



1	2	3
10.	Kanaura . . . . .	Himachal Pradesh.
11.	Kandh (Kondh) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
12.	Kandha (Khond) . . . . .	Orissa.
13.	Kandha Gauda . . . . .	Orissa.
14.	Kandra (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
15.	Kanikkar (Kanikaran) . . . . .	Kerala, Tamilnadu.
16.	Kaniyan . . . . .	Karnataka, Tamilnadu.
17.	Kannikaran . . . . .	Kerala, Tamilnadu.
18.	Kanwar (Kawar) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
19.	Kanyan (Kaniyan) . . . . .	Karnataka, Tamilnadu.
20.	Kapadia Nayka (Naikda) . . . . .	Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
21.	Kapu Savaras (Savaras) . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.
22.	Karku . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh.
23.	Karmali . . . . .	Bihar, West Bengal.
24.	Ka Thakar (Thakur) . . . . .	Maharashtra.
25.	Ka Thakur (Thakur) . . . . .	Maharashtra.
26.	Kathodi . . . . .	Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Rajasthan.
27.	Katkari (Kathodi) . . . . .	Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
28.	Kattunayakan . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu.
29.	Kaur (Munda) . . . . .	Tripura.
30.	Kaur (Kawar) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa.
31.	Kawar . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa.
32.	Kede (Andamanese) . . . . .	A & N. Islands.
33.	Keer . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh.
34.	Khairwar . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
35.	Khampa (Jad) . . . . .	Himachal Pradesh.
36.	Khāmti . . . . .	Arunachal Pradesh.
37.	Khareng (Kuki) . . . . .	Tripura.
38.	Kharia . . . . .	Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, (Lodha) West Bengal.
39.	Kharlan (Kharia) . . . . .	Orissa.
40.	Kharwar . . . . .	West Bengal.
41.	Khari . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
42.	Khasia . . . . .	Tripura.
43.	Khatola (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
44.	Khawchung (Kuki) . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
45.	Khawathlang (Kuki) . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
46.	Khelma (Kuki) . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
47.	Khephong (Kuki) . . . . .	Tripura.
48.	Kheria (Lodha) . . . . .	West Bengal.
49.	Khirwar (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
50.	Khirwara (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.

1	2	3
51.	Kholhou (Kuki) . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
52.	Khond . . . . .	(Khond) Bihar (Kond), Madhya Pradesh.
53.	Khothalong (Kuki) . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
54.	Howa . . . . .	Arunachal Pradesh.
55.	Khutto Savaras (Savaras) . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.
56.	Kipgen (Kuki) . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
57.	Kinnara (Kanaura) . . . . .	Himachal Pradesh.
58.	Kisan . . . . .	Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal.
59.	Kochu Velan . . . . .	Kerala, Tamilnadu.
60.	Kodaku (Korwa) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh.
61.	Kodhu (Kondhs) . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.
62.	Kodi (Kondhs) . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.
63.	Koilabhuta (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
64.	Koilabhuti (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
65.	Koirao . . . . .	Manipur.
66.	Koireng . . . . .	Manipur.
67.	Koitar (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
68.	Kokna . . . . .	Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Dadra & Nagar Haveli.
69.	Kokni . . . . .	Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
70.	Kol . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa (Andamanese) A. & N. Islands.
71.	Kol Loharas . . . . .	Orissa.
	(Kolah Loharas)	
72.	Kolah Loharas . . . . .	Orissa.
73.	Kolam . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
74.	Kolcha (Kolidhor) . . . . .	Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
75.	Kolgha (Kolidhor) . . . . .	Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Dadra & Nagar Haveli.
76.	Kolha . . . . .	Orissa.
77.	Koli . . . . .	Gujarat, Orissa.
78.	Koli Dhor . . . . .	Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Dadra & Nagar Haveli.
79.	Koli Mahadev . . . . .	Maharashtra.
80.	Koli Malhar . . . . .	Maharashtra.
81.	Kom . . . . .	Manipur.
82.	Kond (Khond) . . . . .	Orissa.
83.	Kondadora . . . . .	Orissa.
84.	Konda Dhoras . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.
85.	Konda Kapus . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamilnadu.
86.	Kondar (Khairwar) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh.
87.	Kondareddis . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamilnadu.
88.	Kondh . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.



1	2	3
89.	Kondhs	Andhra Pradesh.
90.	Kora	Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal (Andamanese) A. & N. Islands.
91.	Koraga	Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu.
92.	Korku	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
93.	Korua	Orissa.
94.	Korwa	Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal.
95.	Kota	Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu.
96.	Kotia	Andhra Pradesh, Orissa.
97.	Kottu Koya (Koya)	Andhra Pradesh.
98.	Kotwalia (Vitolia)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.
99.	Koya (Gond)	Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa.
100.	Kucha Maria (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
101.	Kuchaki Maria (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
102.	Kudiya	Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu.
103.	Kuki	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura.
104.	Kukna (Kokna)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Dadra and Nagar Haveli.
105.	Kulia	Andhra Pradesh.
106.	Kulis	Orissa.
107.	Kuki	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura.
108.	Kunbi	Gujrat.
109.	Kuntei (Kuki)	Tripura.
110.	Kurichchan	Kerala, Tamilnadu.
111.	Kuruba	Karnataka.
112.	Kurumans	Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu.
113.	Kurumbas	Kerala, Tamilnadu.
114.	Kuttiyakondhs (Kondhs)	Andhra Pradesh.

## L

1.	Lahaula	Himachal Pradesh.
2.	Laifang (Kuki)	Tripura.
3.	Lakher	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
4.	Lalung	Assam.
5.	Lamba (Jad)	Himachal Pradesh.
6.	Lambadis (Sugalis)	Andhra Pradesh.
7.	Lamgang	Manipur.
8.	Langoli (Pardhi)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
9.	Lengthang (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
10.	Lentei (Kuki)	Tripura.
11.	Lepcha	Sikkim, Tripura, West Bengal.
12.	Lhangum (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
13.	Lhoujem (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.

1	2	3
14.	Lingadhari Koya (Koya)	Andhra Pradesh.
15.	Lodha	Orissa (Shabar), West Bengal.
16.	Lohara	Bihar, West Bengal.
17.	Lohra (Lohara)	Bihar, West Bengal.
18.	Lhouvun (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
19.	Lupheng (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
20.	Lushai	Tripura.
21.	Lynngnam (Khasi)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.

## - M

1.	Madia (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa.
2.	Mag (Kuki)	Tripura.
3.	Magh	West Bengal.
4.	Mahall	Orissa, West Bengal.
5.	Maha Malasar	Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu.
6.	Mahli	Bihar, West Bengal.
7.	Majhi	Madhya Pradesh.
8.	Majhwar	Madhya Pradesh.
9.	Malai Arayan	Kerala, Tamilnadu.
10.	Malai Pandaram	Kerala, Tamilnadu.
11.	Malai Vedan	Kerala, Tamilnadu.
12.	Malaikudi	Karnataka.
13.	Malakkuravan	Kerala, Tamilnadu.
14.	Malasar	Kerala, Karnataka, Tamilnadu.
15.	Malayali	Tamilnadu.
16.	Malayan	Kerala.
17.	Malayarayar	Kerala.
18.	Malayekandi	Karnataka, Tamilnadu.
19.	Maleru	Karnataka.
20.	Malis	Andhra Pradesh.
21.	Maliya Savaras (Savaras)	Andhra Pradesh.
22.	Malpaharia	Bihar, West Bengal.
23.	Man	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
24.	Mana (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
25.	Mangjel (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
26.	Mankidi	Orissa.
27.	Mankirdia	Orissa.
28.	Manna Dhora	Andhra Pradesh.
29.	Mannan	Kerala, Tamilnadu.
30.	Mannervaru (Kolam)	Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra.
31.	Mannewar (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
32.	Mao	Manipur.
33.	Maram	Manipur.
34.	Maratha	Karnataka.



1	2	3
35. Marathi . . . . .	Karnataka, Kerala.	
36. Maria (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
37. Maring . . . . .	Manipur.	
38. Mavchi (Gomit) . . . . .	Karnataka.	
39. Mru . . . . .	West Bengal.	
40. Ma Thakar (Thakur) . . . . .	Maharashtra.	
41. Ma Thakur (Thakur) . . . . .	Maharashtra.	
42. Muthuvan . . . . .	Kerala, Tamilnadu.	
43. Matya . . . . .	Orissa.	
44. Mavchi (Gomit) . . . . .	Gujrat, Maharashtra.	
45. Mawasi . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh.	
46. Mech . . . . .	Assam, West Bengal.	
47. Meda . . . . .	Karnataka	
48. Melakudi (Koya) . . . . .	Karnataka, (Kudiya) Kerala, (Kudiya) Tamilnadu.	
49. Mewasi Bhil (Bhil) . . . . .	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.	
50. Mlikir . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland.	
51. Mina . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan.	
52. Mirdhas . . . . .	Orissa.	
53. Miri . . . . .	Assam.	
54. Mishmi . . . . .	Arunachal Pradesh.	
55. Misao (Kuki) . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya.	
56. Missao (Kuki) . . . . .	Mizoram.	
57. Mizel (Kuki) . . . . .	Tripura.	
58. Mizo . . . . .	Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
59. Moghya (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
60. Mogia (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
61. Momba . . . . .	Arunachal Pradesh.	
62. Monghya (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
63. Monsang . . . . .	Manipur.	
64. Mota Nayaka (Naikda) . . . . .	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.	
65. Mouasi (Korku) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
66. Moyon . . . . .	Manipur.	
67. Mudia (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
68. Mudugar (Muthuvan) . . . . .	Kerala, Tamilnadu.	
69. Maduvan (Muthuvan) . . . . .	Kerala, (Mudugar) Tamilnadu.	
70. Mukha Dhora . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.	
71. Munda . . . . .	Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Tripura, West Bengal.	
72. Monda Lohara (Munda) . . . . .	Orissa.	
73. Munda Mahalis (Munda) . . . . .	Orissa.	
74. Mundari . . . . .	Orissa.	
75. Muria (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	

1	2	3
<b>N</b>		
1. Naga . . . . .		Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland.
2. Nagarchi (Gond) . . . . .		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
3. Nagasia (Nagesia) . . . . .		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
4. Nagesia . . . . .		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal.
5. Nagwanshi (Gond) . . . . .		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
6. Nahul (Korku) . . . . .		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
7. Naikda . . . . .		Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Goa, Daman & Diu.
8. Naikpod (Gond) . . . . .		Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra.
9. Namte (Kuki) . . . . .		Tripura.
10. Nana Nayaka (Naikda) . . . . .		Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
11. Nanguli Kandha . . . . .		Orissa.
12. Nayaka (Naikda) . . . . .		Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Goa, Daman & Diu.
13. Nayaks . . . . .		Andhra Pradesh.
14. Nicobarese . . . . .		Andaman & Nicobar Islands.
15. Nihal (Korku) . . . . .		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
16. Noatia . . . . .		Tripura.
17. Nooka Dhora . . . . .		Andhra Pradesh.
(Mukha Dhoras)		
<b>O</b>		
1. Ojha (Gond) . . . . .		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
2. Omanatya . . . . .		Orissa.
3. Onges . . . . .		A. & N. Islands.
4. Orang . . . . .		Tripura.
5. Oraon . . . . .		Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, West Bengal.
6. Oriya (Kotia) . . . . .		Andhra Pradesh.
<b>P</b>		
1. Padhar . . . . .		Gujarat
2. Padvi (Gomit) . . . . .		Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.
3. Paiko . . . . .		Andhra Pradesh.
4. Paite (Kuki) . . . . .		Manipur, Tripura.
5. Paitu . . . . .		Tripura.
6. Palihal (Bharla Bhumia) . . . . .		Madhya Pradesh.
7. Palleyan . . . . .		Kerala, Tamilnadu.
8. Palliyan . . . . .		Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu.
9. Palliyar . . . . .		Kerala, Tamilnadu.
10. Pando (Bharla Bhumia) . . . . .		Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
11. Pungwala . . . . .		Himachal Pradesh.



1	2	3
12. Panika . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh.	
13. Paniyan . . . . .	Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu.	
14. Pao . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh.	
15. Paradhi . . . . .	Gujarat.	
16. Parangiperja . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.	
17. Pardhan . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
18. Pardhi . . . . .	Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
19. Parenga . . . . .	Orissa.	
20. Pathaiya . . . . .	Bihar, West Bengal.	
21. Parja . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
22. Paroja . . . . .	Orissa.	
23. Patelia . . . . .	Gujrat (Bhil), Karnataka (Bhil), Madhya Pradesh, Pradesh (Bhil), Maharashtra, Rajasthan	
24. Pathan . . . . .	Maharashtra.	
25. Pathari (Pardhan) . . . . .	Maharashtra.	
26. Patharisaroti (Pardhan) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh.	
27. Pawi . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
28. Pawra (Bhil) . . . . .	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan.	
29. Pentic . . . . .	Orissa.	
30. Phanspardhi (Pardhi) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.	
31. Phansepardhi (Pardhi) . . . . .	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.	
32. Pnar (Khasi) . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.	
33. Pomla . . . . .	Gujrat, Maharashtra.	
34. Porja . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.	
35. Potiya . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.	
36. Purum . . . . .	Manipur.	
37. Putiya . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.	

## R

1. Rabari . . . . .	Gujrat.
2. Rabha . . . . .	Assam, West Bengal.
3. Raj (Gond) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
4. Rajgond (Gond) . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka.
5. Raji . . . . .	Uttar Pradesh.
6. Rajah (Koya) . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.
7. Rajkoya (Koya) . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra.
8. Rajuar . . . . .	Orissa.
9. Ralte . . . . .	Manipur.
10. Rangchan . . . . .	Tripura.
11. Rangkhul (Kuki) . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
12. Ranghole (Kuki) . . . . .	Tripura.
13. Rasha Koya (Koya) . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.
14. Rathawa . . . . .	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.
15. Rathia (Kawar) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.

1	2	3
16.	Rawal Bhil . . . . .	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
17.	Reddi Dhoras . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.
18.	Rena (Rona) . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.
19.	Riang . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram.
20.	Rona . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.

## S

1. Sahara (Saora) . . . . .	Orissa.
2. Saharia (Saharlya) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh.
3. Sahariya . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, (Saharia) Rajasthan.
4. Sairhem (Kuki) . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
5. Sanrona (Kotia) . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.
6. Santal . . . . .	Bihar, Orissa, Tripura, West Bengal.
7. Saonta . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh.
8. Saora . . . . .	Orissa.
9. Saroti (Pardhan) . . . . .	Maharashtra.
10. Saunta (Saonta) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh.
11. Saur . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh.
12. Saura (Saora) . . . . .	Orissa.
13. Sauria Paharia . . . . .	Bihar, West Bengal.
14. Savar . . . . .	Bihar (Saora) Orissa, West Bengal.
15. Savaras . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.
16. Sawar . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
17. Sawara (Sawar) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
18. Seharia (Sahariya) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan.
19. Sehria (Sahariya) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, (Seharia) Rajasthan.
20. Selnam (Kuki) . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
21. Sema . . . . .	Manipur.
22. Sentinelese . . . . .	A. & N. Islands.
23. Shabar . . . . .	Orissa.
24. Sherdukpen . . . . .	Arunachal Pradesh.
25. Sherpa . . . . .	Sikkim, West Bengal.
26. Shikari (Pardhi) . . . . .	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
27. Sholaga . . . . .	Karnataka, Tamilnadu.
28. Shom Pens . . . . .	A. & N. Islands.
29. Siddi . . . . .	Gujrat, Goa, Daman & Diu.
30. Sidhopaik (Kotia) . . . . .	Andhra Pradesh.
31. Simte . . . . .	Manipur.
32. Singpho . . . . .	Arunachal Pradesh.
33. Singson (Kuki) . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
34. Sitha Kandha (Khond) . . . . .	Orissa.
35. Sitihou . . . . .	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
36. Soliganu . . . . .	Karnataka.



1	2	3
37.	Sonjhari Jhareka	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
38.	Son Katkari (Kathodi)	Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
39.	Sonkathodi (Kathodi)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
40.	Sonr	Madhya Pradesh.
41.	Sonwal (Kachari)	Assam.
42.	Sor (Sahariya)	Madhya Pradesh.
43.	Sosia (Sahariya)	Madhya Pradesh.
44.	Sounti	Orissa.
45.	Sugalis	Andhra Pradesh.
46.	Suhte.	Manipur.
47.	Sukte (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
48.	Swangla	Himachal Pradesh.
49.	Synten (Khasi)	Mizoram.
50.	Synteng	(Khasi) Assam, (Khasi) Meghalaya, Mizoram.
51.	Syntheng	Assam.
<b>T</b>		
1.	Tabio	A. & N. Islands.
2.	Tadvi (Dhanka)	Gujrat, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan.
3.	Tadvi Bhil (Bhil)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan.
4.	Takankar (Pardhi)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
5.	Takia (Pardhi)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
6.	Talavira (Dubla)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Goa Daman & Diu.
7.	Tangkhul	Manipur.
8.	Tanwar (Kawar)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
9.	Tetaria (Dhanka)	Gujrat, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan.
10.	Thado (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
11.	Thadou	Manipur.
12.	Thakar (Thakur)	Maharashtra.
13.	Thakur	Maharashtra.
14.	Thangluya (Kuki)	Tripura.
15.	Thangngeu (Kuki)	Assam, Maharashtra, Mizoram, Meghalaya.
16.	Thiaru	Uttar Pradesh.
17.	Tharua	Orissa.
18.	Thatia (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
19.	Thoti	Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra.
20.	Thotya (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
21.	Tibetan (Bhutia)	Sikkim, West Bengal.
22.	Tikiria Kondhs	Andhra Pradesh.
23.	Tippera (Tripura)	Tripura.
24.	Toda	Karnataka, Tamilnadu.
25.	Tokre Koli (Koli Dhor)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra.
26.	Toto (Bhutia)	West Bengal.

1	2	3
27.	Tripura	Tripura.
28.	Tripuri (Tripura)	Tripura.
29.	Tromopa	Sikkim.
<b>U</b>		
1.	Uchai	Tripura.
2.	Uibuh	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
3.	Ulladan	Kerala.
4.	Uraly	Kerala, Tamilnadu.
<b>V</b>		
1.	Vade Maria (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
2.	Vaghri	Gujrat.
3.	Vaiphei (Kuki)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
4.	Vaiphui	Manipur.
5.	Valmiki	Andhra Pradesh.
6.	Valvi (Dhanka)	Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
7.	Varli	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Goa, Daman & Diu, Dadra & Nagar Haveli.
8.	Vitolia	Karnataka, Maharashtra.
9.	Vasava (Bhil)	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
10.	Vasave	Gujrat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
11.	Vitola	Gujrat.
12.	Vitolia	Maharashtra.
<b>W</b>		
1.	Wade Maria (Gond)	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
2.	War (Khasi)	Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram.
<b>Y</b>		
1.	Yenadis	Andhra Pradesh.
2.	Yenity Kondhs (Kondhs)	Andhra Pradesh.
3.	Yerava	Karnataka.
4.	Yere (Andamanese)	A. & N. Islands.
5.	Yerukulas	Andhra Pradesh.
6.	Yolmo (Bhutia)	Sikkim, West Bengal.
<b>Z</b>		
1.	Zou	Manipur.



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